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THE

PRINCES DE CONDÉ

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HISTORY

OF THE

IN THE

XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF

BY

ROBERT BROWN BORTHWICK.

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Errata.

Page 12, *line* 1, *for* Lorraines *read* Lorrains.

„ 22, „ 1, „ roads *read* banks, i.e. embanked roads.

„ 25, „ 15, „ Droune *read* Dronne.

„ 73, „ 15, „ Orléannais *read* Orléanais.

BOOK I.

(*Continued.*)

LOUIS DE BOURBON,

FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FIRST PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

BORN MAY 7, 1530. KILLED MARCH 13, 1569.

CHAPTER V.

1568—1569.

First violations of the Edict of Peace.—Condé withdraws to Noyers.—Measures taken for his impoverishment and disarmament.—Grievances of the Catholics.—'The affair of La Rochelle.'—The inhabitants of La Rochelle invite Condé to command them.—Action and movement of the Catholic powers.—Position of the Court of France; concentration of troops in Bourgogne; orders given to Tavannes.—Flight of Condé and of the Châtillons with their families (Aug. 23, 1568).—Perilous passage of the Loire.—The number of the fugitives increases; they reach La Rochelle (Sept. 29); their welcome by the burgesses.—Junction of Condé and the Queen of Navarre.—Plan of operations, confined for the present to the west; first steps towards organization; negotiations and manifestoes.—Concentration of the Royal troops in Anjou; fight on the banks of the Loire; defeat of D'Andelot.—Condé relieves D'Andelot's troops and captures Augoulême.—His intention of marching eastward to relieve D'Acier and crush Montpensier, who was imprudently entangled in Périgord.—Whilst Condé remains in Saintonge, Montpensier defeats D'Acier (November).—Monsieur takes the field with twenty-seven thousand men; Condé marches to meet him with nearly thirty thousand.—The vanguard are engaged at Pamprou, between Poitiers and Niort. Condé by mistake comes upon the camp of Monsieur; indecisive engagement of Jazeneuil (Nov. 16).—In the night Condé sets out towards the Loire, in order to gain possession of one of the bridges.—He captures Mirebeau without resistance, and arrives before Saumur.—Capture of Saint-Florent; ferocity of both parties; pillage of Noyers.—Condé is recalled into Poitou to the aid of Loudun.—The two armies are compelled, by the severity of the weather, to go into winter quarters before they have met (December).—Financial position of the Protestants; measures taken to hasten their reinforcements.—In the month of February 1569, Monsieur posts himself at Montmorillon, and thus cuts off all the communications of the Protestants.—Condé, not receiving any reinforcements, and being increasingly harassed by the Royal troops, marches towards the Charente, *en route* for Quercy, in search of the 'Viscounts.'—Monsieur, having taken Ruffec, marches leisurely down the left bank of the Charente, and throws out strong detachments along the right bank.—Skirmish between the vanguards.—The Admiral hopes to attract the Royalists to the right bank above Angoulême, and thus to leave free the road to the south.—Condé arrives at Chérac (March 10); all is in readiness to cross the Charente next day.—Monsieur has preceded him on the left bank.—He occupies

Châteauneuf and menaces Cognac (March 10 and 11).—Condé appears resolved to return northwards, in order to cross the Loire and join the Duc de Deux-Ponts, but does not act with sufficient thoroughness or promptitude.—He extends his quarters towards Saint-Jean-d'Angely; the order to march on the 13th is given.—During the night of the 12th the Catholics pass the Charente before Châteauneuf.—The right bank of the river presents three good positions between Châteauneuf and Triac.—Battle of Jarnac.—On the 13th, at daybreak, the Catholics had passed the river, and had occupied the first of the three positions without striking a blow.—Whilst the Admiral is rallying his men, they occupy Bassac.—Coligny requests the assistance of Condé.—D'Andelot recaptures Bassac, but is driven out once more; the Protestant left is about to be turned; they are thrown back upon Triac.—Condé appears at the Admiral's summons.—He arrives on the field with three hundred horse; his leg is broken.—He sends the Admiral to attack on his left, and charges Monsieur's centre.—The Protestant right is dislodged, Coligny beaten, and Condé, after a valiant resistance, is surrounded, captured, and assassinated.—The Protestant army rallies in a few days, not having sustained great losses.—Criticism on the conduct of Coligny and Condé on that day.—Effect produced by Condé's death.—Treatment of his remains.—Résumé of his life.

CHAP. V.

1568

First violations of the Edict of Peace.

If, in accepting the treaty of Lonjumeau, Condé had cherished any delusive expectations, they were destined to be of brief duration, and there occurred almost immediately a violation of the Edict of Peace, which aroused his first indignation. Among the commissioners, Catholic and Protestant, who had been sent to Toulouse for its registration, was one of the Prince's equerries, named Rapin, who had been condemned to death at Toulouse at the time of the first civil disturbances, but whose person ought to have been secured from all molestation both by the protection of two amnesties and by the very nature of his present mission. Nevertheless, the Parliament, setting aside all these considerations, caused him to be arrested and executed. Upon the urgent remonstrances of Condé, the King promised to bring the matter before his council. But the promise ended in nothing, and this audacious violation of law remained unpunished.

The Parliament of Toulouse, still persisting in its attitude, waited for four letters of injunction before it would register the Edict of Peace; nor did it even then obey the order till, with closed doors, it had imposed its own conditions.

In some places the terms of the treaty were still more grossly set at nought. The majority of the governors of provinces refused to tolerate any practice of Protestant forms of worship. Murders, and even massacres, occurred in several districts. Coligny and D'Andelot were unable to exercise the powers with which they had been invested. Condé himself, although officially reinstated in the government of Picardie, was unable to enforce obedience to the authority of Senarpont, his Lieutenant-Général, although the latter had held office before the commencement of the troubles.[1] The Prince was anxious to ascertain the real state of things in this province; and he had to take possession of the property of Madeleine de Mailly, mother of his first wife. Quitting, therefore, Valery, where he had gone to pass a few days after having partaken of the Lord's Supper at Orléans with his confederates, he arrived at the confines of Picardie, and established himself near Soissons, at the château of Muret, where his mother-in-law had lately died.[2] He intended to traverse the whole of the province, and had already arranged for meetings with his friends, both Catholic and Protestant, under the pretext of coursing;[3] but he was unable either to commence the round of visits which he had intended, or even

[1] He had in that capacity received the English Ambassador in 1559, after the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Forbes, 'A Full View, etc.'

[2] In 1567.

[3] Condé to M. d'Humières, May 8, 1568, Bibl. imp., MS. 'Mémoires du roi Charles IX.' Norreys to Cecil, May 12, 1568. State Paper Office. (Appendix, No. II.)

CHAP. V.

1568 June.

to remain at Muret. Each day he was overwhelmed by fresh and more disastrous tidings. Scarcely had he been informed of the execution of Rapin, when he learned the death of two officers of his household; one had been assassinated near Blandy, the other near Villers-Cotterets. 'This is the third of the gentlemen of my suite who have been killed since the peace,' he writes to the King shortly afterwards.[1] And the messenger who carried to Paris a letter from the Prince complaining of these crimes, found at the entrance of the city the bodies of five Huguenots who had been massacred and left lying on the high road.[2]

Condé withdraws to Noyers.

At length there spread fresh rumours of sinister designs which were said to be hatching against the actual leaders of the Protestant party. This time precise details were given, and even the names mentioned of the Catholic captains to whom the enterprise had been entrusted. La Valette was to fall upon Condé at Muret, while the Admiral was to be surprised at his home by Chavigny, and D'Andelot by Tavannes and Barbezieux.[3] To remain in an unprotected house like Muret or Valery seemed to the Prince to be no longer safe. It chanced that his wife possessed in Bourgogne a seat called Noyers,[4] which was considered tolerably well fortified, and strong enough, at least, to resist any attempt at a *coup-de-main*. The town was surrounded by good walls; it was encircled by a river; the château itself was solidly built, and the

[1] June 29. Archives of the Département du Nord. (Appendix, No. I.)

[2] Norreys to Elizabeth, June 4, 1568. State Paper Office. (Appendix No. II.

[3] Norreys to Elizabeth, June 7, 1568. State Paper Office. (Appendix, No. II.)

[4] On the Serein, seven leagues and a half south-east of Auxerre.

CHAP. V.

1568 June.

ditches were deep. A small garrison, consisting of two hundred trustworthy men, without counting gentlemen and officers, was collected there, and thither Condé directed his course. Bourgogne was one of the districts of France most devoted to the Catholic religion; but this little corner of it was an exception. Tanlay, the château of D'Andelot, was only four leagues distant from Noyers, and the country between these two great houses was filled with Huguenot gentlemen, who kept their horses and weapons constantly ready for action.[1] Condé was therefore safer there than anywhere else. Scarcely, however, had he arrived there when he wrote to the Court[2] to complain of the snares which were laid for him. Bodies of soldiers sallying from the neighbouring fastnesses were continually prowling about his residence, and a spy had just been arrested in the act of sounding the ditches of the château. The King gave immediate orders to Tavannes, Governor of Bourgogne, that the expeditions of the garrisons under his command should be stopped, and to the first president of Dijon that the spy should be publicly tried.[3]

June 1568.

Measures taken in order to impoverish and disarm Condé.

This reparation was a purely official act, and did not pledge the King to much; it had been granted without any difficulty. Moreover, it was not just then intended to put down the Protestant leaders by armed force. The King had advanced a hundred thousand écus to pay the 'reîtres.' The immediate reimbursement of this sum was demanded, and payment was exacted from Condé himself

[1] Norreys to Elizabeth, June 23. State Paper Office. (Appendix, No. II.)

[2] Letter to the King (quoted above) of June 29; letters of July 22, to the King and to the Queen-Mother. Archives of the Département du Nord. (Appendix, No. I.)

[3] Original minute, Bibl. imp., 'Collection Colbert.'

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1568 June.

and those who had taken up arms along with him, without allowing the burden to be shared among all the Protestants in the kingdom. The Prince protested against 'the distinction between those of the Reformed religion who had accompanied him and those who had remained at home, seeing that they were all one in will, and that, if all were not with him in person, they were not the less with him in heart.[1] He demanded that the conditions agreed upon before the negotiations for peace should be adhered to; and, as he himself had not been present during these, he proposed that reference should be made to Cardinal de Châtillon. And, in short, he insisted above all that the King should issue 'commissions and distraints' providing for the recovery of the money by a charge upon all his Protestant subjects. The King consented to a consultation with the Cardinal, but on the other points returned only vague answers, pressing strongly at the same time for immediate payment. On the one hand, the Protestants had neither the will nor perhaps the means to pay; on the other, the Court was anxious either to ruin the Prince and his friends completely, or to convict them of a breach of faith in not meeting their engagements.

While his property was thus threatened, Condé now found himself the victim of another attack. It had been the custom that those 'compagnies d'ordonnance' which were commanded by Princes of the blood royal should not be subject to any disbanding or diminution of their effective strength. Condé now received orders to reduce his company from one hundred to sixty 'lances,' and that

[1] Condé to the King, June 11, 1568. Other letters of June, July, and August. Bibl. imp., 'Collection Colbert.' (Appendix, No. I.)

of his son from fifty to thirty. In vain did he protest;[1] the reduction was insisted upon. At the same time the King, by a fresh edict, exacted from his subjects an oath that they would no more take up arms except at the call of the Crown. There was no protesting against such an order, which, besides, was not followed up by any serious attempt at enforcing it; but it was easy to see at whom these blows were aimed. All these measures had for their object the disarmament of the Protestant party.

Grievances of the Catholics.

Nor were the Catholics without their grievances, which they loudly proclaimed. We are not speaking of the assassinations of which they complained, nor of the depredations with which they charged the armed bands. In deeds of violence and cruelty the two parties were about equal; and if the Protestants were in most cases the victims, it was simply because they were almost everywhere the less numerous. But their adversaries complained of the levies that were being raised in favour of the Prince of Orange; and, above all, accused the Huguenots of keeping closed against the Royal troops several important towns that ought, according to the terms of the Edict of Peace, to have been surrendered.

Touching the first cause of complaint, Condé replied by disowning Cocqueville and the other Protestant captains who had attempted an invasion of Flanders by the frontier of Picardie. Cocqueville, who had been captured at Saint-Valery, by the Maréchal de Cossé, was beheaded; but his companions were treated with a leniency which excited indignant remonstrance on the part of the Duke of Alva.

[1] Condé to the King, June 25, 1568. Bibl. imp., 'Collection Colbert.'

CHAP. V.

1568

As to the second accusation, a reply was more difficult. If the Reformers had given up Orléans and the neighbouring towns, they had retained Sancerre, Vézelay, Montauban, Cahors, etc. The doings at La Rochelle had, however, drawn especial attention to their conduct.

The 'affair of La Rochelle.' The Rochellois invite Condé to command them.

That town had declared, during the war, against the Royal cause; still, after the peace, the burgesses had made no difficulty in accepting the governor nominated by the Crown. Jarnac had been received with the customary honours. A present of four thousand livres had been offered to him. The Catholic inhabitants were recalled, and all the measures which had been ordered were carried out without opposition. But when the order for the introduction of a garrison arrived, the burgesses flatly refused to receive it, pleading the privileges which they had purchased with their blood, and the nobility which they had acquired by a heroic struggle against the English. 'If subjects,' they argued, 'are bound to obey their sovereign, the sovereign is not less bound, by his oath, to maintain the rights and privileges of his subjects.'[1] In short, the troops did not enter. Jarnac was obliged to leave, and Vieilleville, despatched to his assistance with a small army, found the place so well fortified that he halted without any attempt at force, and commenced negotiations. The Rochellois had summoned La Rochefoucauld within the walls, and had written to Condé, placing themselves under his protection.

This letter cast a gleam of light upon the Prince's course. A fortified town of the first class, an important seaport situated between Poitou and Saintonge, not far

[1] La Popelinière.

1568 Actions and movements of the Catholic powers.

from Gascogne, and consequently easily available for communication either with England or with those parts of France where the Reformation owned its chief adherents, La Rochelle was at once a secure place of refuge and an excellent base of operations. The appeal of the people of La Rochelle seemed at once to open to the Prince a haven of security, and to suggest to him a plan of campaign. Indeed, without recantation or death, hesitation was no longer possible. Everything tended to show that the most violent measures were determined upon by the Catholics. The King of Spain had given the signal. The death of Don Carlos,[1] the massacres in the Low Countries, the executions of the Comte d'Egmont and the Comte de Horn (June 1568); such a series of merciless actions, perpetrated within a very few months, all seemed to be so many stimulants to the zeal of the French Court. The Pope, in sanctioning a sale of ecclesiastical property at the request of Charles IX., accompanied his authorisation with the formal condition that the proceeds should be devoted to the extermination of heretics. L'Hospital was indeed enabled to prevent the bull being accepted with these terms, and the Holy Father was asked to modify the text. But this was the last time that the Chancellor was successful. That great man had long been out of favour with the Queen-Mother, and now his presence by the side of the young King was a source of uneasiness and trouble to Médicis. L'Hospital was banished from Court. The Montmorencies had previously quitted it; the Cardinal de

[1] Don Carlos had been arrested in the month of January, and in that same month Philip II. announced to the Pope 'that he had preferred the honour of God and the maintenance of the Catholic religion to his own flesh and his own blood.' Spanish historians, however, give out that he died *of fever* on the twenty-fourth of July.

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Bourbon was under suspicion; the Lorraines alone were in favour.

1568 July.

Position of the Court. Concentration of troops in Bourgogne.

As the young Henri de Guise was growing up, and the time was approaching when he would be able to wield the sword of his glorious father, the Cardinal de Lorraine began to disclose those passions and return to those inclinations which, with his great circumspection, he had thought it wise to conceal since the death of the Duc François. He had, after the Peace of Chartres, affected an attempt at friendliness with Condé; but, meeting with a cold reception,[1] he had restrained himself no longer. Everyone, even though a good Catholic, who did not espouse all the animosities and assent to all the sinister designs of the dominant party, was set aside. Even the Secretaries of State were compelled to dismiss their clerks,[2] and the 'politiques'[3] were almost as much anathematized as the Huguenots. The Italian and Swiss soldiers were not dismissed; Catholic associations of a suspicious nature were formed in several provinces. One great nobleman, René of Savoy, Comte de Cipière, had just been assassinated at Fréjus, with thirty of his friends. The protection of the Crown was shielding both the murderer, the Baron des Arcs, and the instigator of the atrocity, the Comte de Tende, the victim's own brother. Terror became general, and several Protestant families had already emigrated. At last, fourteen companies of gendarmes

[1] Norreys to Elizabeth, June 4, 1568. State Paper Office. (Appendix, No. II.)

[2] 'Several of the clerks of the Secretaries of State have been discharged. . . . . The "collector" of Senlis, clerk to Villeroy, and Sageot, "clerk" to L'Aubespine, have been turned adrift; others are to be dismissed. . . . .' Norreys to Elizabeth, June 7, 1568. State Paper Office. (Appendix, No. II.)

[3] This was the occasion on which this word was invented.

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and several bands of infantry had been marched towards Bourgogne.

1568 July.

On the first tidings from La Rochelle, and on the news of a fact so significant as the concentration of what was almost an army of Bourgogne, Coligny and D'Andelot had quitted Tanlay to join Condé at Noyers. It was soon known at Court that D'Andelot, with a good deal of secrecy, had just arrived in Bretagne. This gave rise to some anxiety. Martigues, governor of that province, was recommended to hold himself in readiness,[1] and Tavannes was ordered to execute promptly the projected *coup-de-main* against Noyers. But, not feeling this a very honourable course of action, and, moreover, having no great faith in the success of 'that ill-devised distaff-and-pen undertaking,' he took good care, before obeying it, to send messengers past Noyers with letters to this effect:—'The stag is in the toils; all is in readiness.' As he expected, the notes were seized by those for whom they were intended, and the warning was not lost.

Orders given to Tavannes.

On the twenty-first of August, the Marquise de Rothelin quitted Noyers, and presented herself to Charles IX., in order to assure him of the obedience of her son-in-law, and to ask for justice in his name. On the twenty-second a fresh message was despatched to Court, and Téligny was the bearer of it. He was stopped on the way and interrogated. To all who questioned him he replied that he bore overtures of peace. The Prince, he said, would wait at Noyers the reply of the King. Misled by this tone and language, the officers who had been instructed

[1] '. . . The said Sieur d'Andelot has started on the Bretagne road, but to what destination it is not known. Monsieur de Martigues is on his track. . . .' (L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre to M. de Gordes, July 20, 1568. 'Archives de Condé.')

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1568 August.

to seize the person of Condé, or, at all events, to hold him, as it were, blockaded in his own house, relaxed somewhat of their vigilance, and were waiting for some fresh occurrence before taking active measures, when they learned that the Prince had suddenly left, and was making for the Loire in all haste. They set off at once in pursuit.

Flight of Condé and the Châtillons with their families (Aug. 23, 1568).

Condé and Coligny had started on the twenty-third, taking with them the Princess, who was then pregnant, her family, and those of the Admiral and of D'Andelot. They were attended by a hundred cavaliers. A second detachment, commanded by the Capitaine Boas, quitted Noyers simultaneously, escorting some other families, the baggage, and the servants, and proceeded in the same direction, but by a different road, in order to avoid the danger of delay through these encumbrances. It was their object now not to fight, but to place themselves at once in security. They had no time to collect a large force; and such a force would only have delayed their movements, and so brought upon them the danger of total failure. It was with this feeble escort, and with this woeful cortége of weeping women and infants in arms, that they had to march, or rather fly, by long stages, under a burning sun, 'going off,' as Condé wrote bitterly to the King, 'like arrows deprived of their feathers.'[1]

Perilous passage of the Loire.

The great difficulty for the fugitives was how to cross the Loire. The lessons of the last war had not been lost upon the Catholics. In order to prevent the Protestants of the north from effecting a junction with those of the south, they had divided the kingdom by a line of posts which rested upon the river. But there is always some broken mesh in such nets as these. The drought had

[1] 'S'en allant comme materats désempennez.'

greatly diminished the stream, and some peasants had discovered a ford near Sancerre. They pointed it out to the Prince, who was wandering along the banks in a state of agitation. The little band passed it, and the capricious waters, rising behind them, as if by miracle, arrested their pursuers just as they thought they had caught their prey in the net which they had so long spread for them. Condé fell on his knees, and, the tears in his eyes, sang aloud, with those around him, the Psalm 'In exitu Israël.'[1]

1568 August and September.

They had escaped their greatest dangers. They were now able to continue their journey more leisurely. Their numbers soon swelled. Bonny, captured by the Capitaine Gasconnet, had given Boas the command of a bridge. He joined Condé with his detachment. D'Ivoy, Boucard, and others brought up some more cavalry. Still, great caution was necessary. The Prince and his friends gave out everywhere that they wished neither to unsettle the kingdom nor to make any attempt at resisting the authority of the King. They were on their way, he said, to pay a visit to La Rochefoucauld, and to take refuge in his château of Verteuil.[2] Letters to this effect were addressed to Montluc, who commanded in Gascogne, and to Vieilleville in Poitou. Some of the inhabitants and some Catholic priests, having complained of acts of violence on the part of some of the escort, immediate and handsome restitution was made. After some days, Condé, who was now approaching Poitiers, sent a request to Vieilleville that he would open the gates. 'Willingly,' replied the Maréchal, 'if he comes with the customary retinue of a Prince; but not if he presents himself with

The number of the fugitives increases.

[1] Psalm cxiv. E.V.

[2] On the Charente.

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1568 September 19. They reach La Rochelle.

so large a following.' But Condé was not thinking at the time of occupying Poitiers. He had merely wished to divert the attention of the Maréchal, and to play the part of a peaceable traveller. He passed on, and, on the nineteenth of September, he at last entered La Rochelle. 'I have flown as far as I could,' he wrote jocularly; 'but when I got here I found the sea, and, as I cannot swim, I have been forced to turn round and gain land,[1] not by my feet, but by my hands.'

Their welcome by the burgesses.

Next day he harangued the townspeople, and with his lively and persuasive eloquence set forth to them 'the pitiable state of the kingdom, the miserable captivity of the King, the wicked plots of their enemies to exterminate all those of their religion, the dire necessity in which he felt himself compelled to come and take up arms, as well in his own and his friends' defence as in that of the people, of the service of God, and of the King. He appealed to them, and called upon them to help him herein; assuring them that he would be serviceable to them in all their affairs. And, as a pledge of his good faith, he committed to them his wife and children, the dearest and most precious jewels which he possessed in the world.'[2] Forthwith La Haise, the mayor, with much emotion, offered to the Prince 'life and goods in the name of all the citizens,' and the latter repeated with enthusiastic shouts the vow of their chief magistrate.

Junction of Condé and the Queen of Navarre.

The whole of the Protestant noblesse of Poitou and Saintonge had hastened to the side of the Prince. Thus reinforced, Condé immediately set out to meet the Queen of Navarre. For, in fact, Jeanne d'Albret was on her way to the appointed rendezvous, accompanied by her

[1] 'Gagner la terre.' [2] La Popelinière.

young son. She brought with her forty-two companies of infantry and eight troops of light cavalry. Montluc endeavoured to bar the road against her; but his forces were insufficient. Jeanne passed unmolested, and was received by the Prince at Archiac. On the twenty-eighth they both reached La Rochelle. 1568 Sept. 28.

Plan of operations; confined for the present to the west.

The first thing to be done was to organize a plan of campaign, for a totally different one was now necessary. Finding the Royalists on their guard, having lost Orléans and the towns on the Loire, they were not in a position either to assume the offensive or to threaten Paris. Moreover, the Protestants had acquired the conviction that the north, the east, and the centre of France were devotedly Catholic, and that their presence in those districts never gained a single proselyte, while, at the same time, it was very difficult for them to maintain themselves there. The plan which they adopted in the third civil war was not only the sole possible one, but was more methodical and rational than their former course. Their aim was no longer the conquest of France and the propagation of their religion, but the conquest of their liberties. To acquire the mastery at sea, in order that they might have the power of obtaining supplies for themselves, and might secure freedom of intercourse with Normandie and England; to hold a zone of territory around La Rochelle sufficiently large for their purpose, and to establish themselves effectually within it, and at the same time to keep open communication with the south, whence they could obtain important reinforcements; to endeavour to seize one of the bridges of the Loire, in order to be able to reach the reinforcements which might

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be expected from Germany—such was the plan finally decided upon. It was the only possible one.

First steps towards organization. Negotiations and manifestos.

Through the care of the Admiral, who, although not a sailor, had never been unfamiliar with naval matters, and through the intelligent assistance of the Rochellois, a fleet was got ready. The Cardinal de Châtillon, who had been able to escape from Beauvais, to embark in Normandie, and to reach England, was charged with obtaining the assistance of Elizabeth, 'the Royal nursing-mother of the Church of God.'[1] That Princess was now more than ever irritated against the Court of France and the House of Guise, from whom she thought or affirmed that she was in danger. She had already instructed her ambassador, Norreys, to announce to the Most Christian King that, if he persisted in allowing the tyrannical orders of Rome to be carried out in his kingdom, she should be obliged to take measures for the security of her own States.[2] The Huguenots had therefore good reason for anticipating a favourable reception on her part of their overtures. A special envoy, the Sieur de Cavaignes, a counsellor of Parliament, was despatched from La Rochelle to London,[3] to assure the Queen that the designs harboured against her were only too true. He was to state—without, however, a vestige of proof—that the Cardinal de Lorraine wished that all the alleged rights of Marie Stuart to the Crown of England should be ceded to the Duc d'Anjou, and that the same prelate had offered to the Prince de Condé the command of the army which was to invade Great Britain. In return for the service which the

[1] Jeanne d'Albret to Elizabeth, October 15.

[2] Elizabeth to Norreys, Aug. 27. State Paper Office.

[3] Condé to Elizabeth, Sept. 15. British Museum, Cotton, Caligula, E. VI. (Appendix, No. II.)

Huguenots were rendering to Elizabeth by taking up arms, Cavaignes was to ask for the aid of six men-of-war, six siege-guns, with ammunition, and finally a loan of two hundred thousand écus, the repayment of which would be guaranteed by the cession of merchandise warehoused at Havre, La Rochelle, and Blaye. These two hundred thousand écus were destined for the Duc de Deux-Ponts, who had undertaken to set out on receipt of that sum, and to furnish six thousand horse, thirty companies of foot, twenty siege-guns and twelve field-pieces, with their appointments.[1]

As regards internal preparations, instructions were sent to D'Acier and Montbrun and to the 'seven Viscounts,' who were directed to superintend the rising in the south. Finally, preparations were made for a junction with D'Andelot, who was to rally all the Reformers in the north, and attempt with them the passage of the Loire. At the same time Condé and Jeanne sent fresh despatches to the Court. To the King and to the Queen-Mother they offered promises of submission; they declared that their sole purpose in taking up arms was to resist the Cardinal de Lorraine, that public enemy and oppressor of all good people, 'not only of those who follow the pure law of the Gospel, but of those moderate Catholics who do not belong to his own faction.' The letters addressed to the Duc d'Anjou and to the Cardinal de Bourbon put them on their guard against the Guises, who, in order the better to ruin them, were endeavouring to draw them on in their train, under pretext of religion.

[1] Instructions of the Prince de Condé to the Sieur de Cavaignes, certified correct by the latter, and sent to Cecil, October 6. Hatfield Papers.

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1568 September and October.

In thus recapitulating with a childish impetuosity the accusations already set forth in the long 'remonstrance' which Condé had sent to the King before his departure from Noyers, the Reformed leaders were swelling the importance and adding to the influence of their enemies. But these documents, intended for the public eye,[1] appealed rather to the Protestants themselves than to their adversaries. This was the means which had been employed before to calm the scruples of timorous consciences. As for changing the views of the Court, no one expected such a thing. On the first tidings of active measures, the King had issued an edict taking under his protection his subjects of the so-called Reformed religion. It was thought that this would diminish the number of persons who would take up arms. But as soon as the impassioned and often pathetic manifesto of the twenty-second of August was received, these tactics were abandoned. The news of Condé's flight excited violent anger. Téligny, the bearer of the despatches, was thrown into prison; the practice of the Reformed religion was forbidden; all the edicts in favour of toleration were cancelled; Protestant functionaries were dismissed; and the ministers were condemned to banishment. The formation of a large army, under the command of Monsieur, was ordered; and while it was being organized reinforcements and extraordinary powers were sent to the Duc de Montpensier, Governor of Anjou.

Concentration of the Royal

It was on this side that the first blow was to be struck. We have already stated that D'Andelot had been for some

[1] They are to be found in numbers of contemporary collections too long for quotations. As a rule, we mention in the notes only original or little-known sources.

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time established in Bretagne, and that the Prince and the Admiral, keeping him informed of their movements, had charged him to assemble their friends of the west and the north on the Loire. A rendezvous was appointed for the fourteenth of September, at Beaufort, between Angers and Saumur. D'Andelot there met Montgomery, the Vidame de Chartres, La Noue, and others. They had to find some means of crossing the river; the Ponts-de-Cé could not be taken by surprise. They sought for a place where they might cross, partly by fording and partly by boats, and meanwhile established themselves in the neighbouring villages, as they were menaced only in the direction of Saumur, where the Duc de Montpensier was assembling his forces, and in that of Angers, where Martigues was supposed to be. The latter, who was Governor of Bretagne, having been unable to prevent D'Andelot from taking up arms, was moving to join Montpensier, when he was besought by the townspeople of Nantes to provide for the security of their town. He retraced his steps, placed a garrison in the town, and pressed forward to Angers. There he became aware that D'Andelot's troops on the embankment of the Loire blocked his way. Nevertheless he determined to break through and open up the road, and informed Montpensier of his intention, that he might make a diversion. The Reformers were so much off their guard that, notwithstanding their great numerical superiority, notwithstanding the well-known energy of their general, Martigues easily got the better of their disjointed efforts, completely routed them, and pressed forward, unassisted, to Saumur. Martigues had but few troops; but among them he had his regiment of veteran bands, and above all his excellent musketeers.

1568 September. troops in Anjou. Fight on the banks of the Loire. Defeat of D'Andelot.

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The fight took place on roads, where only the heads of the columns were engaged, a fact which considerably diminished the advantage of numerical superiority. D'Andelot had no troops sufficiently steady to hold their own against these sturdy veterans.[1]

Condé relieves D'Andelot and captures Angoulême.

After this decided check, the position of the small Protestant army, opposed to the united corps of Montpensier and Martigues, was becoming perilous. Its utter destruction was already thought secure, when it became known that D'Andelot had reached the other side of the Loire. Just as several of the generals were counselling a retreat, and even a break-up of the army, the ford so eagerly sought after was discovered. The passage of the troops was effected in a few hours. D'Andelot threw himself into Poitou with fourteen companies of infantry and sixteen troops of cavalry. Soubise, sent to meet him, reinforced him with five hundred horse. The two corps united captured Thouars and Parthenay, and then joined the Admiral, who had left La Rochelle with a part of the army. Niort, Fontenay, and Saint-Maixent were quickly carried; and then all the available forces were employed at the siege of Angoulême. Condé directed the operations in person. In a few days the place capitulated. It was a strong town, and commanded a rich and fertile country. This was the first important success of the campaign.

Condé intends to march eastward to relieve D'Acier and crush Montpensier, who

The movement which had brought the Protestants before Angoulême, and had already produced so important a result, had a yet further aim. It brought the army nearer to the succours expected from the south. It was known, in fact, that D'Acier, after having assembled on

[1] The fight on the embankment of the Loire resembles, on a small scale, some of the glorious battles fought near Verona in 1796.

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1568 October.

was imprudently entangled in Périgord.

the right bank of the Rhône the contingents of Languedoc and Dauphiné, had succeeded in reaching Montauban with some cavalry and a considerable force of infantry. It was hoped that he would be able to rally the 'seven Viscounts,' and that all united would soon debouch into Périgord. It was all the more necessary to go at once to meet them, inasmuch as Montpensier had passed the Loire, and had advanced as far as Confolens. That Prince, reinforced in the manner already described, had received orders to repair to Poitiers, and to throw supplies into all the towns of those provinces which still held out for the Royal cause, in order to prevent, or at least retard, the success of the Protestants. But he was instructed to avoid all engagements, and all undertakings which might imperil the safety of his troops. In this position he was to wait till Monsieur had joined him, in order that the great Catholic army might be in a state to encounter the enemy with the advantage of numbers. Surrounded, however, as he was by enthusiastic officers, and himself very enthusiastic—above all, urged on by the young Duc de Guise, who had just, contrary to orders, brought up to him a part of the cavalry which had been told off to follow Monsieur—Montpensier was eager to abandon his passive attitude; and the Court, which was incapable of enforcing with decision the carrying out of any plan of operations, could not give the orders which would have prevented this movement. Instead of throwing forces into the towns, Montpensier took the field, allowed Angoulême to be taken—a town which, had it been opportunely relieved, would have held out for a long time; and when at length he approached the victorious Protestant army, discovered that he had not forces sufficient to give battle.

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He was compelled to retreat rapidly eastwards. Thus the Reformers, fearing nothing in their rear, had a double inducement to enter Périgord: first, in order to reinforce D'Acier, who was menaced on his left flank by Montluc, and on his right flank by Montpensier; secondly, to profit by the mistake of the latter, to crush the inadequate forces with which he had been imprudent enough to advance, and thus to destroy one of the principal elements of Monsieur's army.

Whilst Condé remains in Saintonge, Montpensier defeats D'Acier.

This simple solution, however, was not adopted. Both the succour of the army of D'Acier and the destruction of that of Montpensier were given up, in order to complete the conquest of Saintonge, where some insignificant towns still adhered to the King. Is this enormous blunder to be attributed to some strange misunderstanding on the part of Condé? Did it arise from that conflict of influences which so often proved fatal to the plans of the Protestants? Was it a whim of the imperious Admiral, who was now more haughty than ever, and who, feeling himself to be the real leader in the affections of the party, wished 'to manage the Prince as he thought best'?[1] Or is it not more likely that this unfortunate movement was dictated by Jeanne d'Albret, and by the petty religious despotism of La Rochelle, who, anxious above all to have a province to govern, was bent upon extending its authority to the Gironde? On this point conjectures alone can be hazarded. One thing is certain, that, on leaving Angoulême, the Protestant army approached the sea in order to take Pons and Blaye. When, after these insignificant successes, it was determined at

[1] 'Manyer le prince à sa volonté.'—La Popelinière.

last to set out in search of the Protestant troops, it was too late to do anything but rally their scattered remnants.

1568 November.

D'Acier had vainly endeavoured to induce the Vicomtes to accompany him. They refused, on the plea that by leaving their own district they would expose the party to the risk of losing that secure retreat. He was obliged to go forward without them. Montluc indeed did not dare to attack the southern contingent. But Montpensier, as soon as he became aware of Condé's march on Pons, fell back at once upon Périgueux. He had with him two excellent commanders of light troops, as vigilant as they were enterprising, Brissac and Martigues. Under their guidance he suddenly fell upon the quarters of the Provençaux, who were encamped between the Isle and the Droune; and, while D'Acier was endeavouring to master his troops, he destroyed the greater portion of his infantry, commanded by Mouvans and Pierre Gourdes, who were both killed. The exhaustion of their horses prevented the Catholics from following up their victory, out of which, however, they carried seventeen standards. The 'bataille' of the Huguenots, which had been strongly posted, was not destroyed, and reached Riberac that night. On the twenty-sixth of October, D'Acier passed the Vienne at Aubeterre, and joined the army of the Prince at Châlais. He brought with him, notwithstanding his disaster, seven hundred horse and some thousands of good musketeers. Montpensier, unable any longer to keep the field, reascended towards Poitou, which Monsieur had just entered. The great Protestant army followed him with some degree of speed. But still it was obliged to halt to force one of the fords of the Vienne which were in the hands of the Catholics. Great activity was displayed. The

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château and the little town of Chauvigny[1] were taken in twenty-four hours. The Vienne was passed, and the Huguenots, resuming their march on the track of the enemy, arrived that same night before Châtellerault. In taking up their positions on the heights which commanded that town on the south, they looked eagerly for the columns which had for several days been retreating before them, when, instead of a rear-guard precipitately falling back, they found themselves in sight of a large army, well posted and strongly entrenched. Montpensier had just effected a junction with the Duc d'Anjou.

1568 November.

Nov. 6.

Monsieur takes the field with twenty-seven thousand men.

Monsieur had with him excellent artillery; he had the Swiss, the archers of the guard, some Italian bands, the gentlemen pensioners, and not a few of the nobility. He had long been waiting for the return of the column which had been so imprudently thrown into the south. Doubtless the blunder of Montpensier had been in some measure neutralized by the still greater blunder of the Protestants, and D'Acier's defeat was an important success. But the best of the season was over, and a portion of the Royal army was already exhausted. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the premature severity of a winter which already threatened to be a very hard one, Monsieur resolved to act on the offensive. He had under his command twenty-seven thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were infantry and the rest cavalry. Tavannes gave him the aid of his experience and of his mastery of the art of war.

Condé marches to meet him with nearly

As for Condé, he was no less anxious to come to close quarters. If his army were not composed of such tried soldiers as that of Monsieur, it was at all events equal to

[1] About six leagues to the east of Poitiers.

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1568 November.

it in numbers,[1] comprising as it did two hundred and forty companies of foot and ninety-four of horse. The violent proceedings of the Court had exasperated the Protestants, and had caused them to take up arms to a man. Never indeed had the Prince had a larger or a more enthusiastic army under his command. They were, however, only irregular troops, and, moreover, it was impossible to pay them. In the event of a prolonged campaign, their strength was certain to be rapidly diminished by disorder and desertion. Everything therefore pointed to the necessity of speedy action. But although both the character and the position of Condé ought to have induced him to give battle at once to the Royal army, he was unable either to attack the Duc d'Anjou in the strong position which the latter occupied at Châtellerault, or to await an attack in his present position, face to face with him; for, in the event of defeat, he would be compelled to recross the Vienne under the guns of Poitiers, which was in the hands of a strong Catholic garrison. He determined therefore to return by Chauvigny, on the left bank of the Vienne, and, in order that he might not be diverted by Poitiers, he fell back as far as Cheney,[2] on the banks of the Sèvre. He was not long before he learned that Monsieur had quitted Châtellerault and passed by Poitiers without halting there. The Prince therefore, in the hope of soon engaging in the open, pushed forward, and, on the fifteenth of November, reached Lusignan on the Poitiers road.

thirty thousand.

Nov. 15.

There he found that the enemy was on his left and

[1] De Thou estimates the number as only twenty-one thousand men; but if we adopt the more probable calculation of La Popelinière, it must have exceeded thirty thousand.

[2] Four leagues to the south-east of Saint-Maixent.

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1568 Nov. 15.

The vanguard is engaged at Pamprou, between Poitiers and Niort.

was keeping on the road to Niort,[1] the Catholic generals hoping to meet the Protestants near the last-named place, in a country less broken, and where they might make good use of their splendid and numerous cavalry. Condé immediately sent D'Andelot to make a reconnaissance in the direction which had been pointed out to him, and prepared to support him with the remainder of his troops. In beating up the country, D'Andelot reached a village called Pamprou,[2] situated on a steep-banked stream, a tributary of the Sèvre, and commanded by rugged hills. The Duc de Montpensier reached the spot at the same time with a part of the advanced guard of the Catholics. Being unable to oppose the Protestants with his inferior numbers, he was compelled to yield the village and its surrounding heights to them. He was soon, however, joined by the active Martigues, and enabled to take the offensive. Whereupon D'Andelot, placing his infantry in ambuscade among the vines and brushwood, boldly deployed his cavalry in open file upon the slope, and presented so strong a front that the enemy, thinking they were face to face with the entire Protestant army, halted. Towards evening the Prince and the Admiral arrived at Pamprou; in the night they observed large fires kindled in front of the position which the Catholics had taken up: and the drums in their camp were heard to beat the well-known march of the Swiss. Condé thought that Monsieur had joined his advanced guard, and prepared for a general engagement on the morrow. Nevertheless,

[1] The present road from Poitiers to Niort passes through Coulombiers and Lusignan. The ancient road lay towards the north of these two villages, and ran almost in a straight line from Poitiers to Saint-Maixent. See Cassini's map.

[2] Three leagues to the east of Saint-Maixent.

at sunrise, he found in front of him only the baggage which had been abandoned. The fires and the drums beating 'à la Suisse' had been only a device on the part of Martigues to cover the retreat. It was in consequence of delays in the transmission of orders that Montpensier had found himself the evening before at Pamprou. That village had indeed been selected as the head-quarters by the Catholic staff; but the main body of the army, retarded by the state of the road, had halted at Jazeneuil, about three leagues in the rear. The advanced guard, informed of this change, had fallen back during the night.

1568 Nov. 16.

Condé by mistake comes upon the camp of Monsieur. Indecisive engagement of Jazeneuil (Nov. 16).

Monsieur was then at Jazeneuil; but his right had possession of Sanxai, on the road from Poitiers to Niort, which he was determined not to abandon. Condé resolved to march upon Sanxai with his entire force. This was the best thing he could do. Whether the detachment were surprised and captured, or whether it had time to fall back intact upon Jazeneuil, the Reformers, at all events, were turning the principal position of the enemy, placing themselves between him and the Loire, and would be enabled either to precede him along that river, so as to seize a bridge which would ensure their communication with the north, or themselves to select the site of the battle in the event of an attempt being made to cut them off during their march.

A thick fog seemed to favour this movement. The Admiral was ahead with the guides. When half-way on their journey, he inclined to the left in the direction agreed upon; but the Prince, on arriving at the cross-roads with the 'bataille,' having lost sight of the advanced guard, continued his march straight towards Jazeneuil.

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He only discovered his mistake on lighting upon the camp of Monsieur. Too weak to attack him, and yet anxious to avoid an open retreat, which could not be effected without danger from the splendid cavalry of the Catholics, he adopted a course as wise as it was bold. The road along which he had marched descended in front of Jazeneuil from a plateau of some elevation, through a wide ravine into the little valley of the Vonne, and came out to the right of the Royal army. The Prince immediately occupied the heights, which were covered with vines, hedges, and ditches, and which commanded this little defile; posted his musketeers there, and dug a trench right across the road. He himself, with his cavalry, rode on in front to conceal these arrangements. The Catholics ran to arms; the nature of the ground, a very 'pays de chicane,' impeded and delayed their movements. A few companies of gendarmes were the first to issue from the camp, led by the Duc de Guise, and supported by a well-sustained artillery fire, which, however, took little effect. Under cover of the smoke Condé retired. Guise advanced in the hope of coming up with him, but found himself stopped by the trench, and, received at once by the fire of the concealed musketeers and by the salvos of four field-pieces, he was forced to retreat. The Prince then charged, and drove the enemy back to their first line of tents. He in turn was repulsed by Valette, who was followed by a large force of cavalry; Brissac seconded the movement with his infantry and menaced the left of the Protestants. The Catholic musketeers were inferior in number, but they were veterans; they advanced in open order, levelled their muskets, and fired with deadly aim, whilst their

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enemies, in close order, began firing in volleys as if at haphazard, 'in such a manner that,' in the words of La Noue, 'two hundred Catholic arquebusiers stopped a whole regiment.' Already, despite the entreaties of Condé, his infantry was beginning to waver, when the Admiral, who had found Sanxai abandoned, and had returned on hearing the sound of artillery, appeared with his men. Dusk was coming on, and the Catholics withdrew within their lines, while the Protestants retained their positions.[1]

They soon observed with astonishment that a fresh camp was pitched on their left. Was this a new Royal army which had arrived—or had the enemy simply changed position? The staff of the Duc d'Anjou could give no better solution of the enigma, and were as uneasy as they themselves were: it was the camp followers of the Protestants, who, having been sent to Sanxai, and finding there neither troops nor instructions, had returned by chance; and encamping first where night had overtaken them, they were making merry around great fires upon the provisions of their masters.

In the night, Condé sets out towards

Monsieur intended to attack early next morning. But some works which he had ordered to be executed on the edge of his camp before daybreak, in order that he might

[1] It was thought in the Royal army that Condé might have gained a signal success in this encounter. But the Catholics did not know that, throughout the day, he had only had part of his forces at command. We find this opinion stated in a kind of autobiography in verse written by a captain of 'ordonnance.' 'Les sept livres des honnestes passe-temps,' by M. de la Motte Messemé. Paris, 12mo. 1587. Among many rather tedious digressions, these memoirs in rhyming prose contain some very curious details as to manners and customs, the style of warfare, of gaining information, of *serving*, as we should say, throughout the whole period of the religious wars. We have borrowed from this work several of the details concerning the battle of Jarnac and other incidents.

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1568 Nov. 17.

march out in several columns, had not been carried out, by reason of the negligence and inactivity of his generals. And when at last things were ready, he was just in time to catch sight of the rear-guard of the Reformers, who were already well on their way towards Sanxai. Had Condé been able to present himself before Jazeneuil at an early hour on the previous day, with all his forces, and to attack the Catholics in their camp, which was very confined, was badly protected, and badly posted, he might have inflicted upon them a very serious check. But to renew the fight after they had had time to improve their positions was a course which offered but little chance of success. Moreover, being satisfied with the moral advantage which he had appeared to derive from the insignificant encounter at Pamprou, as well as from the indecisive engagement at Jazeneuil, he returned to the object which he had in view on his first march to Sanxai. At the end of three or four days he was before Mirebeau, which was promptly taken; but before pushing farther north he wished to ascertain the exact position of the enemy. The Admiral, who had been sent on to reconnoitre, surprised Brissac's regiment, which was encamped at Auzances,[1] on the small river of that name. He gave him a warm reception, killed some of his men, and then fell back to Mirebeau. It was known through the prisoners that the Royal army had re-entered Poitiers, quite exhausted, encumbered with sick, and but little disposed to undertake anything. The Prince, reassured, left seven or eight hundred men in Mirebeau to harass those in Poitiers, and continued his march towards Saumur, where lay the bridge which he was anxious to

the Loire, in order to gain possession of one of the bridges. He takes Mirebeau without resistance, and arrives before Saumur.

Nov. 24.

[1] About six kilomètres to the north-east of Poitiers.

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1568 November.

Capture of Saint-Florent; ferocity of both parties. Pillage of Noyers.

seize before Monsieur could provide for its security. But Saumur contained a garrison which appeared determined to defend it; the abbey of Saint-Florent, carefully fortified, covered its approaches. It was necessary first to lay siege to their abbey, which soon capitulated. Nevertheless the garrison was cruelly massacred; for this was becoming the rule. At every fresh war both sides showed themselves more and more merciless. These perpetual contests were hardening men's hearts. In the first civil war the enemies used to embrace each other during a truce, and only took to fighting again with strong repugnance. In the third, under pretext of reprisals, they no longer gave quarter. Every law of humanity was violated.

This fierce animosity spared neither the residences of princes nor their servants. At Champigny, which belonged to the Duc de Montpensier, and which the Huguenots had taken in the last march, the Duke's confessor had been mercilessly hanged. At Noyers, which had just been surprised by Barbezieux, Governor of Champagne, everything had been pillaged, in contravention of the pledge given by that officer; the men in charge of the château, and even the women who had taken refuge in it, had been treated most brutally. 'That gallant and bold captain,' writes Condé[1] on this subject, 'in order to prove his valour, of which he thought I somewhat doubted, has come and attacked my house, the château and town of Noyers, knowing that I was about a hundred or a hundred and twenty leagues away. . . . Having stolen and removed from my house all my goods, he thinks he has

[1] To the Duc de Montpensier, Dec. 1568, in answer to a letter relative to the affair at Champigny. (Bibliothèque impériale. A copy of the eighteenth century.)

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1568 December.

just completely ruined me. But,' added he proudly, 'the stock from which I am sprung, and the courage which has always accompanied me, assure me that it is not in the power of my enemies to make me poor.'

Condé is recalled into Poitou to the aid of Loudun. The two armies are compelled by the severity of the weather to go into winter quarters before they have met (December).

When, after the capture of Saint-Florent, the attack upon Saumur was at last begun, it became known that Monsieur, who had left Poitiers, had already recaptured Mirebeau, and that he was about to lay siege to Loudun. This was one of the chief towns which had declared for the Protestant cause, and its loss would have cut off the communications between the confederates. It was necessary to return by forced marches. They arrived in time to save Loudun, but the expedition on the Loire had failed. It was now the end of December, and the severity of the weather was becoming unbearable. Moreover, Condé, fearing that his army, composed as it was chiefly of southerners, would no longer be able to resist it, was more anxious than ever for a decisive day. The two armies deployed, and remained for three days in order of battle, without being able to attack each other, and only interchanging a few insignificant shots. A stream separated them. The Admiral made an ineffectual effort to cross it; the ground was covered with a coating of ice, which was so slippery that the horses could scarcely walk, and which made the most trifling obstacle insurmountable. Each side relaxed its hold. Eight thousand men had died of cold and privation within a month. The Duc d'Anjou withdrew to Chinon, and Condé, after having placed a strong garrison in Loudun, separated his troops and encamped them in Poitou. He himself, after a few days' sojourn at Thouars, went to Niort, as did also the Admiral, in order to confer with Jeanne d'Albret upon the prospects of their party.

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1568 December.

Financial position of the Protestants. Measures taken to hasten their reinforcements.

Their financial position was not bad; in the first civil wars it had never been so satisfactory. Besides seven cannon, along with their outfit, Elizabeth had just given them a hundred thousand angels.[1] Their maritime operations had been lucrative. The little Protestant fleet was managed with success and boldness; it was assisted in its enterprises by numerous English privateers. In consideration of a share of the spoil, the British Government had authorised the Cardinal de Châtillon to issue letters of marque, and to give chase to any ship carrying the flag of a Catholic power.[2] Already had prizes of great value been brought into La Rochelle, and had become an important item of revenue. Further, the burgesses of that city had generously subscribed for a considerable loan. It was resolved once more to have recourse to their purses, which were by no means empty, and, in order to encourage their devotion, they were allowed to purchase ecclesiastical property. This sale, however, was only a paper one, guaranteed by the very precarious security of the personal property of the Princes and noblemen.

Other points also occupied the attention of the Protestant leaders. It was necessary, in the first place, to take into consideration a pacific message from the Queen. A

[1] See (Appendix, No. II.) the letters from Condé and the Prince de Béarn to Elizabeth and Cecil, during the months of Dec. 1568 and January 1569. From that time every missive from Condé to foreign Princes was accompanied by a duplicate signed by Jeanne d'Albret's young son. These documents do not appear in the 'Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV.' so carefully and successfully edited by M. Berger de Xivrey. (Cf. The 'Correspondance diplomatique de La Mothe Fénelon, French Ambassador at the Court of St. James.' Paris, 1838, vol. i.)

[2] La Popelinière. 'Hatfield Papers.' North, one of the English adventurers, had for some time previous to his exploits at sea followed the Protestant army. In a letter to Cecil (January 11, 1569) he gave some rather curious details regarding the operations. (See Appendix, No. II.)

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1569 January.

curt answer was returned, and the attempt bore no fruit; it had scarcely been a serious one. But the matter of real importance was the securing for the army the reinforcements of which they stood in great need. England had furnished only a contingent of a hundred volunteers, commanded by Henry Champernoune, brother-in-law to Montgomery; and this little detachment would scarcely even have been worth mentioning, had it not numbered in its ranks Walter Raleigh, the celebrated navigator, who then first saw service.[1] There were better hopes from other quarters. Towards the Pyrenees, Gramont and the Vicomtes had under them about ten thousand men, inured to long marches and skilled in the use of the petronel.[2] Piles was despatched to try and induce them to quit their mountain-homes and join the body of the army. Pressing letters, too, were sent to Germany, whence encouraging news had been received. The Court had made som fruitless efforts to induce the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony to prohibit any levies made in the name of the Protestants. The Duc de Deux-Ponts, the Prince of Orange, and Count Casimir, were about to bring to their aid a considerable force, which was to join on its way the contingent from Picardie, commanded by Mouy; from this quarter a reinforcement of not less than seventeen thousand men was expected, of whom three thousand were cavalry, together with thirty-two guns.[3] In another direction La Coche, a man of courage, had collected a numerous force in Dauphiné, and was endeavouring to

[1] Darcies, 'Annals of Queen Elizabeth.'

[2] Petrinal.—A fire-arm (with a wheel lock) between the arquebuse and pistol, which was held against the breast when fired, whence poitrinal or petrinal.

[3] Henry Champernoune to Cecil, Niort, Feb. 6, 1569. (State Paper Office.)

reach Poitou. Finally, the town of Sancerre had victoriously repulsed the attacks of Nemours and of the Baron des Adrets.

1569 January.

Thus the month of January, 1569, passed without being marked by any important movement on the part of either of the principal armies. The time of year prevented any action. The Protestants confined themselves to the task of completing, by the capture of a few small towns, the occupation of the sea-coast and of Lower Poitou. Towards the end of February they learned that Monsieur, descending from Chinon, and following the right bank of the Vienne, had just arrived at Montmorillon. By this movement, which had been suggested by Tavannes, the Duc d'Anjou, without entangling himself in the labyrinth of towns held by the Protestants, approached the roads from Poitou to Berry, to Limousin, and to Gascogne, and yet kept himself ready to reappear on the Lower Loire before his enemies could do so. He was so posted that he could cut off their reinforcements, from whatever quarter they should arrive. If Condé were to march to meet his auxiliaries, Monsieur had a good chance of giving him successful battle. But if, on the other hand, the Prince should not venture to quit his position, his army, already diminished by the climate and by desertion, would become day by day weaker, and the Duc d'Anjou could then select the most favourable opportunity for attacking him.

In the month of February 1569, Monsieur posts himself at Montmorillon, and thus cuts off the communications of the Protestants.

Everything seemed to be against the Protestant cause. An attempted *coup-de-main* against Havre had failed. La Coche, having been unable to find a point of egress from Dauphiné, had decided to make for Geneva, hoping to debouch through Franche-Comté, to escape all chance

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1569 February.

of pursuit by the very audacity of the march, to traverse unexpectedly the whole of France, and to reach Condé. But near Neufchâtel he had fallen in with D'Aumale, who had gone to Lorraine to meet the Margrave of Baden; he had just been killed and his troops destroyed. Southwards, Piles had been unsuccessful in his mission; the Vicomtes persisted in not quitting Gascogne. On the other hand, fresh troops were flocking to the Royal army. Monsieur had already been joined by the musketeers of Sarlaboux and by Joyeuse's men from Languedoc, and he now received a reinforcement of Provençals under the Comte de Tende, as well as the 'reîtres' of the Rhinegrave and the Margrave of Baden.

Condé, not receiving any reinforcements, and being increasingly harassed by the Royal troops, marches towards the Charente on his way to Quercy, in search of the Vicomtes.

To attack such forces as these was not to be thought of with an army so reduced, and to act on the defensive was scarcely less perilous, considering the dejected spirits of the troops. The soldiers from Provence were beginning to desert, and the rest were losing heart. Brissac, who had been detached from the Royal army at Lusignan, had created serious alarm by his successful *coups-de-main*. Should, therefore, an attempt be made to get possession of a bridge on the Lower Loire? They had been unable to effect this when they were in good condition. They could scarcely hope for better fortune now. Besides which, the Duc de Deux-Ponts was too far off to render such a movement really serviceable. Condé, who was always naturally disposed to daring resolutions, had seriously contemplated throwing himself into Berry, in order to reach Sancerre. Had Monsieur remained at Chinon, such a movement, if executed with secrecy and promptitude, would have offered a far better prospect of success than an attack upon Saumur. It would have

disconcerted the Court and brought the Protestants and the Germans nearer to each other by placing the former on the other side of the Loire. But this scheme had become known to the Duc d'Anjou, and the rumours which had reached him had decided him upon making a descent on Montmorillon. The northern and eastern roads being shut up, there only remained that to the south. On this side, too, there was an army with which they wished to effect a junction, and, as the Vicomtes were unwilling to come to them of themselves, it was necessary to go and fetch them. When a junction had been effected with them, it would be easier to penetrate towards the Loire. It was therefore resolved to march on Quercy. In the beginning of March, Condé collected all his troops and marched towards the Charente by Saint-Jean-d'Angely. He was accompanied by his eldest son and his young nephew, who now appeared for the first time in the ranks of the army. Jeanne d'Albret had charged the Prince de Béarn to serve his uncle as he would his own father.[1]

The river Charente, taking its rise in the low pastoral hills of Limousin, at first flows northwards as far as Civray; it then takes its course in an opposite direction to Angoulême; then it turns westward, and finally, flowing again northwards after leaving Saintes, falls into the sea south of Rochefort. In this slow and tortuous course it exceeds in length eighty-five leagues, just about double

[1] Autograph letter from Jeanne d'Albret 'à Monsieur le Prince, son frère,' among 'papiers trouvez sur M. le Prince de Condé, quand il fut tué le 13 Mars 1569, envoyez au Roy par le Duc d'Anjou le 17 Mars 1569.' These original and precious documents, which we shall hereafter have occasion to quote, are preserved in the Bibliothèque impériale, 'Collection Colbert,' vol. xxiv. They will be found in Appendix, No. III.

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1569 March.

the distance from its source to its mouth. Its course is for the most part through level and marshy plains surrounded by hills of slight elevation.

It was at the bend of the river between Angoulême and Saintes that the Huguenots had to cross in order to reach the valley of the Dordogne, and thence descend into Quercy.

Monsieur, having taken Ruffec, marches leisurely down the left bank of the Charente, throwing out strong detachments along the right bank.

They were masters, on this side, of all the bridges of the Charente, and yet Monsieur could cut off their communications before they could possibly reach the Dordogne or its tributaries. And indeed, no sooner had that Prince satisfied himself as to any eastward movement of the Protestants, thân, passing the Vienne at Confolens and the Charente at Verteuil, he had laid siege to Ruffec. That little town had just capitulated, and the Duc d'Anjou had only to recross the Charente and to follow the left bank down to Angoulême, in order to be in a position either to place himself between the Dordogne and the enemy, or to surprise them as they were attempting to cross the Charente. Tavannes, who had disapproved of the useless expedition against Ruffec, insisted strongly on this march by the left bank, but the Catholic staff was divided on the point. The Duc de Guise, ardent and ambitious, was impatient under the supremacy of the veteran maréchal, and opposed all his plans; he counselled an immediate offer of battle to the Protestants. The Duc d'Anjou, who already foresaw with uneasiness and aversion a rival in his young lieutenant, but who was also already becoming accustomed to give way before a will more determined than his own, put his troops in motion in a southerly direction; remaining, however, on the right bank, and allowing Guise to scour the country

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with his friends Brissac and Martigues. The latter threw out parties far into the country, one of which, commanded by an active, experienced, and adventurous leader, named La Rivière, succeeded even in gaining possession of Jarnac.

Skirmish between the van-guards. The Admiral endeavours to attract the Royal army to the right bank above Angoulême, and thus to free the road to the south.

The Protestant army, nevertheless, continued its route. Coligny and D'Andelot led the advanced-guard, and reconnoitred with great caution. They had already reached Cognac when the Admiral was informed that the enemy's scouts had been seen, and had rapidly fallen back on Jarnac as soon as they saw that they were discovered. Coligny pursued them so promptly that he entered the town at the same moment with them. La Rivière had just time to throw himself into the château. Astonished at this unexpected rencontre, and seeing no trace of the enemy on the south of the river, the Admiral, with great sagacity, led back his advanced-guard towards the north, keeping away from the road to Saint-Jean-d'Angely, and making for the Upper Charente. On arriving at Beauvais-sur-Matha, his brother, who was at the head of half his cavalry, perceived the camp of Guise and Martigues posted at Anville. Monsieur was posted a little farther to the east, with the remainder of his troops. As soon as Coligny became aware of these dispositions he made them known to Condé, and advised him to hasten across the river, he himself preparing to skirmish with the enemy, hoping thus to be able to draw upon himself the entire Royalist army and to keep it engaged while the Prince was crossing with the 'bataille,' then to fall back in the same direction, and to place the river this time between the Catholics and himself; if they should pursue him still, holding no towns

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on that side and finding the bridges broken, they would be compelled to allow the Protestants several days' start.

1569 March 10.

Condé reaches Chérac (March 10). All is in readiness for crossing the Charente on the morrow.

Condé, by the Admiral's advice, set his troops in motion. The principal part of the 'bataille' was to pass the Charente at Cognac, a column of lighter troops was to cross at Saintes; and the bridges of Châteauneuf and Jarnac, Bricquemault having just retaken the castle at the latter place, were to be reserved for the advanced-guard. It is worthy of notice that, Jarnac excepted, all these towns are on the left bank; that is, on the farther side of the river. On the tenth of March the Prince had taken up his quarters at Chérac, a small hamlet on this side of Cognac; the young Princes, the artillery, and the baggage had arrived at that town; the 'quarter-masters' and a few scouts had pushed on to Barbezieux, where they hoped to sleep on the morrow.

Monsieur has preceded him on the left bank. He occupies Châteauneuf and menaces Cognac (March 10, 11).

But on that very day, the tenth of March, Monsieur appeared before Châteauneuf. Tavannes had at last carried the day. While the Admiral was preparing to engage Guise and Martigues, they had been recalled by positive orders, disappeared from before him, and, falling back upon Montignac,[1] crossed the river in the rear of their army. As soon as Coligny became aware of the direction they had taken, he understood the tactics of the enemy, and fell back in all haste upon Jarnac. He hoped that Châteauneuf, which was tolerably strong, would be able to hold out for some time, and when, on the morning of the eleventh, it was announced to him that it had capitulated on the approach of the Catholics, he refused to believe it.[2] But his doubts were soon dispelled. The

[1] On the Charente, about six leagues above Angoulême.

[2] The Admiral to the Prince de Condé, Jarnac, March 11. Papers,

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1569 March 11.

Duc d'Anjou was master of Châteauneuf, and the Admiral's vedettes warned him that the Catholic cavalry was marching on Cognac. Uneasy as to the safety of the young Princes, Coligny wrote to Condé a pressing note, urging him to 'send some trustworthy men' into that town; he himself remained to protect Jarnac and watch Châteauneuf;[1] and, entrusting to D'Andelot a portion of his advanced-guard, sent him towards Cognac by the right bank; the irregular troops on either side had already exchanged a few shots across the river. However, after having appeared before Cognac, Monsieur returned to Châteauneuf with his troops.

Condé appears resolved to march northwards in order to cross the Loire and join the Duc de Deux-Ponts, but does not act with sufficient promptitude and thoroughness.

Whatever his designs may have been, his presence and the superiority of his army blocked the road to Quercy against the Protestants; but his movement opened up those to the east and the north. Condé duly appreciated the situation. He saw that reinforcements were necessary to enable the Huguenots to accept battle without too great disparity of terms. But the contingent which they were going to meet in Gascogne was small compared with the reinforcements they were expecting from Germany. It therefore now became an object to revert to their former plan, and to march by Berry to meet the 'reîtres.' Accordingly the Prince, with this view, resolved to direct the main body of the army towards the Upper Charente, and to conceal this movement by exhibiting to the enemy a few detachments here and there along the banks of the river from Châteauneuf

etc., already quoted, p. 39, note 1. (Appendix, No. III.)

[1] The Admiral to the Prince de Condé, Jarnac, March 11, postscript. The same to the same, a second letter dated same day. Papers, etc., already quoted. (Appendix, No. III.)

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1569 March 11.

to Saintes; a rear-guard, left towards Jarnac, was to watch the enemy and to impede any attempt on his part to force a passage. And thus, whether the Catholics should venture to risk themselves in the midst of the Protestant towns, or whether, retracing their steps, avoiding Angoulême, and following the bend of the Charente, they should describe the arc of which the Protestants occupied the chord, the latter might hope to be beforehand with their opponents on the Loire. Doubtless the loss of Châteauneuf was an impediment to the execution of this plan; but the garrison, at the very time it surrendered, had blown up the bridge. Before this bridge could be rebuilt, or another could be captured or constructed, it would be possible to have gained ground. Above all, Condé had just been informed that Monsieur had been ordered to engage at all hazards, or, should he be unable to do so at once, to retreat directly upon Orléans. Catherine, it was believed, was uneasy on account of the advance and success of the Duc de Deux-Ponts, who had beaten D'Aumale and got beyond Nancy.[1] Everything seemed to make it desirable for Condé to avoid a general engagement and to march towards the Loire.

But how difficult an art is war! Surrounded by contradictory information, uncertain both as to the pre-

[1] Sainte-Eremyne to the Prince de Condé, Angoulême, March 10, 1569. The Admiral to the Prince de Condé, Jarnac, March 11. Papers, etc., already quoted. (Appendix, No. III.) Among the papers found on the Prince de Condé was a lengthy notification from Paris to the Admiral. It contains very curious details concerning the state of affairs and the movements of the armies. This information had been secretly furnished by the physician of the Comte de Jarnac, and his letter, which had doubtless passed through the Royal army, was written on a strip 11·8 inches long and 2¾ inches broad. The importance which Condé attached to this document is proved by the fact that it was found in his gauntlet, where he had concealed it.

CHAP. V.

1569 March 11.

cise situation of affairs and the designs of the enemy, assailed by a thousand different reflections, the general forms and abandons in turn the most inconsistent plans. And even if he succeeds in shaping for himself a definite course out of the chaos of conflicting schemes, still it is seldom that he can release his mind from the influence of all the impressions it has received, and of all the movements which have been suggested to it. Condé had determined to march towards the Loire; and yet he was involuntarily affected by a rumour that Monsieur contemplated an advance into Gascogne.[1] He was unable to give up hope of succouring the Vicomtes, or of taking advantage of any imprudent attempt which the enemy might make beyond the Charente; and thus, scarcely realising to himself what his object was, he did not move fast enough to avoid an engagement and secure to himself an open road to the east; while at the same time he did not keep his troops sufficiently concentrated to accept battle or to avail himself of a favourable chance.

On the eleventh of March, whilst the advanced-guard was watching and following up the movements of the enemy on the other side of the river, the Prince remained near Cognac with a few companies of ordonnance, occupied in force that town, as well as Saintes, placed a few detachments of foot in the villages bordering on the river between the two towns, and sent a body

[1] The Admiral to the Prince de Condé, Jarnac, March 11. Note from the Governor of Mussidan to the Admiral, March 9, 1569, to inform him that the enemy was pushing forward to within four leagues of his territory (on the Isle, south of Riberac, and west of Périgueux), with the view of striking a blow at the army of the Vicomtes and of the Sieur de Piles. Papers, etc., above quoted. (Appendix, No. III.)

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1569 March 12.

of infantry and almost all his cavalry up towards Saint-Jean-d'Angely and the upper Charente. His camp extended to within six leagues of Cognac.[1] On the twelfth he still lingered, and came in person to Jarnac. The Admiral's anxieties were aroused by a demonstration which the enemy was making a little below Châteauneuf. He therefore assembled all the troops of his vanguard near Bassac, about halfway between Jarnac and Châteauneuf. Towards evening, Condé, upon learning that the Catholics had repaired the bridge of the last-named town,[2] decided on continuing his march. He prepared to start next morning, gave all necessary orders, and requested the Admiral to join him at daybreak, leaving a sufficient rear-guard to watch the enemy, and to delay him, should he attempt, as seemed likely, to cross the river.

During the night of the 12th, the Catholics pass the Charente before Châteauneuf.

But the Prince was not aware of the principal positions of the Catholics. On the eleventh and twelfth, while he was demonstrating on Cognac and opposite Bassac, Monsieur had not restricted his operations to the repair of the bridge at Châteauneuf; he had brought together boats

[1] 'Logis de la bataille du unzième de mars mil V^c soixante-neuf,' the original memorandum of the quartering of the principal corps of the Protestant army. Papers, etc., already quoted. We advise those of our readers who take an interest in the study of military transactions to compare this document with Cassini's map. It was such an examination of it, coupled with the perusal of the other papers found upon Condé, that enabled us to understand the Prince's plan of operations, the last movements of the Protestant army, and the battle of Jarnac itself. As we take a different view of the events from the majority of historians, or rather, as we think that we have been enabled to fill up a blank in their accounts, we have given some explanations on this head, which will be found in a note following the 'logis de la bataille.' (Appendix, No. III.)

[2] Note from M. de Saint-Mesme, Angoulême, March 12. Papers, etc., already quoted. M. de Saint-Mesme was in command at Angoulême. He further expresses some anxiety as to the safety of that town. (Appendix, No. III.)

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and materials for the construction of a second bridge, Biron, to whom its erection was entrusted, had acquitted himself of the task with a secrecy and energy worthy of his reputation as a competent and active officer, and with all the ardour of a man who is under suspicion, and who is determined to clear himself. At the same time, La Rivière had been sent towards Montignac, in order to find out, if possible, the designs of the Protestants. On the evening of the twelfth the second bridge was completed; during the night the reconnoitrers came back, and nothing tended to show that the Huguenots were in the direction of Montignac. It therefore appeared certain that they had not gone, and it was now possible to transport the army rapidly across the Charente. At two o'clock in the morning the passage began.

The right bank of the Charente presents three good positions between Châteauneuf and Triac.

The right bank, which was in the possession of the Protestants, forms, opposite Châteauneuf, a projection commanded by low hills, which yet were easy to hold against columns issuing from that town, and were but slightly exposed to artillery fire from the other bank of the river. Between the plateau on the summit of these hills and Jarnac there lay, first, some rough ground covered with vines and brushwood, and then a level position rather wide, but of considerable strength, with steep declivities, leading down on one side to the abbey of Bassac and the marshes through which the Charente flows, and covered on the other flank, as well as in front, by a sluggish stream called the Guerlande. Farther on, the village of Triac, with a pond,[1] along the edge of which

[1] This pond, mentioned in all contemporary accounts of the battle, is no longer in existence; but there are still, in front of Triac, several small pools of water which have no outlet.

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ran a paved road, a dell flanked by hills and opening to the river, presented a third line of defence. With vigi-

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lance, precise orders, and officers who were intelligent as well as brave, and by a wise use of the advantages which the nature of the ground afforded, the advanced-guard—which had now become the rear-guard—of the Protestants could hold for a whole day against the Catholics the positions which nature had thus formed one behind another within this space of country: and, as all these positions were protected by the Charente, which from Châteauneuf to Triac flows almost in a northward direction, their retreat, had it been skilfully effected, would have covered the new line of operations of their army while concentrating upon it the Admiral's troops. From Bassac and Triac the advanced-guard would have rapidly followed in the track of the 'bataille,' which was already in march towards the upper stream. Thus, notwithstanding all the grievous delays, there was still a chance of avoiding a general engagement and opening up the road to the Loire.

Battle of Jarnac.

Coligny was well acquainted with this ground, which he had just reconnoitred several times over. As late as the twelfth, he had kept his men all day under arms there, and had advanced till he arrived opposite Châteauneuf. In the evening, seeing that all was quiet on the other bank, he dispersed nearly all his forces among Triac and the other villages, and thought he might safely return himself to Bassac. Two regiments[1] of infantry and eight hundred horsemen, all from Poitou, under Puyvault,

[1] It has been already remarked that, strictly speaking, there were no organized regiments as yet. But the word is here employed, in a meaning often given to it by contemporary writers, to denote a number of companies under the conduct and organization of a single leader.

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Soubise, and La Loue, seemed to him sufficient to hold these heights, which were so important, from which he was withdrawing, and the occupation of which was so vital to the safety of the army. On arriving at Bassac, he received the instructions which Condé gave him for the following day. He despatched them at once, but his messengers either lost their way or were slow; the orders either never arrived or arrived too late. The night was dark, the fog icy and penetrating. After some hours, Puyvault and La Loue, seeing nothing and hearing nothing, placed their men under shelter in the neighbouring hamlets, and, taking refuge in a house, took up cards and dice to wait till daybreak. The sentries which they had left behind them were neither relieved nor visited, and were just as careless as they. The men, wearied with the marches of the last few days, wet, and benumbed with cold, either fell asleep or joined their comrades. Daybreak of the thirteenth found the Protestant officers at play; they despatched hastily a patrol of fifty horse towards the bridges; and scarcely had these scouts proceeded a few paces when they beheld floating on the top of the heights the blue ensign of Martigues, surrounded by the light cavalry. The alarm was immediately given throughout the hamlets; the culpable leaders, the negligent soldiery, all rushed to the positions they should never have quitted.

But it was too late. The Royal army had crossed the river in close column; already the troops were massing on the position they had gained, and were being reinforced every moment. The heights facing Châteauneuf were lost to the Protestants without costing their adversaries a single drop of blood.

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There was nothing now to be done but to defend the passage of the Guerlande. Soubise, Puyvault, and La Loue made rapidly towards it, endeavouring to rally their scattered forces. It was behind this stream that they counted upon finding the Admiral and the remainder of the vanguard; it was here that they might hope to arrest the advance of the enemy. The latter followed them at first slowly; Monsieur advanced with great caution over the broken ground which lay before him, and which might conceal some ambush. Soon the country became more level, and, opening out, exposed to view Puyvault's two regiments, entangled in the swamps on the banks of the Guerlande, and preparing to cross it in order to scale the heights which terminate at Bassac. La Loue and Soubise faced about upon the enemy with eight troops of cavalry and covered the retreat of their infantry. Guise and Martigues at once charged them with the light cavalry. La Loue and Soubise received them bravely; but they were on the point of being completely crushed when a timely reinforcement arrived.

While the Admiral is rallying his men, the Royalists occupy Bassac.

The Admiral had waited a long time at Bassac for his troops. He had, the evening before, appointed that place for rendezvous at daybreak; but the hour of nine had struck before his men had mustered. He had just been informed that the Catholics had crossed the Charente, and was all the more anxious to execute the orders of Condé; and he was just setting out to join the Prince, when he saw, at the same moment, both his rear-guard hastily falling back and the enemy charging it. Coligny saw the danger; and, without countermanding the movement already begun, detached four cornets of horse

under the intrepid La Noue, and sent them to the rescue of the imperilled troops. The charge was vigorously led; Guise and Martigues were just being repulsed, when four squadrons of gendarmes, who had come up to their assistance, threw themselves on the flank of the victorious cavalry and pushed them back to the stream. La Noue and several others were captured; the infantry was broken; the Royalists crossed the Guerlande in the rear of the fugitives and entered Bassac with them.

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Coligny sends to ask Condé to support him.

This complete rout of the rear-guard compelled the Admiral to halt and take immediate measures. The loss of Bassac exposed him on one flank, and on the other the extreme right of the Royal army, which had now fully deployed, was advancing rapidly and threatening to outflank him, cut off his retreat, and push him into the Charente. At this critical moment, Coligny, unwilling or unable to abandon his ground with a precipitation which was a sore trial to his self-esteem, sent to entreat Condé to bring to his assistance all the help he could muster. At the same time, retaining the coolness which was to be expected from a warrior of his experience and courage, he detached D'Andelot with a hundred and twenty 'salades'[1] and a regiment of infantry which he had retained near him. He ordered him to rally the rear-guard and to recapture Bassac; he himself, with the whole of his remaining cavalry, went forward and posted himself a little farther off, at the foot of the hills which commanded the road to Jarnac, in order to delay the movements of the Catholic right wing.

D'Andelot, who was as brave and as headstrong as his

[1] 'Salades.' — The 'salade' was a sort of helmet, with which were equipped certain corps of cavalry, sometimes called by that name.

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D'Andelot recaptures Bassac, but is driven out once more. The Protestant left is about to be turned. They are driven back upon Triac.

brother, and even more dashing, and who was especially accustomed to handle infantry, soon acquitted himself of his task. Guise, thinking that all was over at this point, and never very ready to obey orders, had, in defiance of Tavannes, gone off with a portion of the light cavalry to seek a fresh engagement on the right of the Royal army. Martigues alone had crossed the Guerlande; impelled by his ardour, he continued the pursuit, and passed Bassac without waiting for the infantry, which had been retarded by crossing the stream, to relieve him at that critical point. He was soon repulsed with great loss, and Bassac was recaptured. D'Andelot there posted his infantry recruits, who, from that moment, behaved like trained soldiers. Brissac was the first to attack him there with twelve hundred musketeers, but was unable to make an inch of ground. But Tavannes had an eye upon every point of the field. He hastened to send to the support of Brissac the first troop he could find, which happened to be the Germans of the Rhinegrave. After an heroic struggle, D'Andelot, overcome by superior force, abandoned to the enemy the village, now in ruins. He withdrew in good order, posted his infantry among the hedges and behind the road along the pond which protected Triac, left Soubise there with the remainder of the cavalry of the rear-guard, and galloped off to join his brother. The latter was with difficulty holding his ground; he had vainly tried to delay the movements of the enemy's right; a few troops of horse which he had sent against it had been routed, and Châtellier, who commanded them, had been killed. Nevertheless, along the whole line, a pause had succeeded the heat of the fight; Monsieur had halted in order to reform on the

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heights his troops, which had been thrown into disorder by the passage of the Guerlande. At this moment Condé appeared on the field.

Condé appears at the Admiral's summons.

The Prince had just quitted Jarnac, and feeling satisfied as to anything which might happen in the direction of the Charente, as well in consequence of the orders he had given as of the Admiral's presence, was quietly pursuing the direction he had taken with his columns, when Coligny's message was brought to him. The nature of its purport did not admit of hesitation. To fix immediately upon a fresh point of concentration for the whole army in the rear of the present scene of action; to order the Admiral to fall back, fighting as hard as possible, towards that spot; and at the same time to draw thither all the troops of the 'bataille,' so that he need not form line himself till they were all concentrated—this is what a general ought to have done under ordinary circumstances. Whatever efforts he might make, however rapid his movements, he could not now prevent the rout of the regiments which were then actually engaged. Had he thus manœuvred, he would at least have been sure of rallying their remnants; had he opposed, late in the day, fresh troops to the wearied columns of the enemy, he would have had a chance of obtaining some partial advantage over them; and next day, while his adversaries were rallying, he might have effected an orderly retreat and got beyond their reach. But the conduct of a party leader in a civil war must not be judged by the ordinary rules of warfare. Had Condé turned a deaf ear to the appeal of his lieutenant, or had he replied by giving the orders we have suggested, he would have given deadly offence to the Admiral. All the Reformed pastors and

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all the extreme partisans would have taken the part of the latter; his defeat would have been attributed to the selfishness and jealousy of the Prince. Condé would have laid himself open to the most malignant reproaches, and have lost all influence over his party. He did not waver; for 'he had the heart of a lion, and, whenever he heard that there was fighting, he longed to be in the thick of it.'[1] Sending word to all the detachments of the 'bataille,' both infantry and cavalry, to return at once, and to make in all haste for the plateau of Bassac, he himself, 'not half slow enough,'[2] set off at full trot. He was met by a fresh messenger from Coligny; the Admiral had given up all hope; he begged the Prince not to make a useless effort, and to retreat in all haste. The advice came too late. 'God forbid,' replied Condé, 'that Louis de Bourbon should turn his back to the enemy!' He hastened onwards. But a cloud of sadness overspread his countenance, usually so beaming under such circumstances. He was agitated by a secret presentiment. He forbade the young Princes to follow him, and ordered them to retire to Saintes. Several times, as they rode, he said to La Rochefoucauld, his brother-in-law,[3] who was by his side, 'My uncle has made a blunder; but the wine is drawn, and we must drink it.' But, at the sight of the enemy, his soldier's heart stifled these emotions. He took a rapid survey of the field. He saw the Admiral's corps reduced to half

[1] La Noue.

[2] 'Trop peu paresseux.' D'Aubigné.

[3] François, third of the name, Comte de la Rochefoucauld and de Roucy. (See note, vol. i. p. 80.) He was killed in Paris in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. His widow died in November of the same year, 1572; and his nephew, Henri Prince de Condé, became guardian of his infant children.

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its strength and thrown back upon the last, the weakest, of the three positions that he could have defended that morning. In front of him he saw the Royal army already in force upon the plateau; its ranks were becoming every instant more numerous, and its artillery was just coming up. Guise was leading the right, and was endeavouring to throw himself between the hills and the left of the Protestants—now exposed through the check given to Châtellier. Towards Triac, Puyvault and Soubise, burning to make up for their fault of the night before, were still holding their position among the hedges and behind the road round the pond; but they had at their command only the débris of the infantry and of the twelve troops, which had now been for some hours engaged, and they were threatened with a formidable attack. In front of them Montpensier had sent fresh troops to the aid of the wearied squadrons of Martigues, the musketeers of Brissac and the Rhinegrave's 'reîtres;' their flank was menaced by the Catholic centre, where Monsieur himself was, and which was commanded by Tavannes.

He arrives on the field with three hundred horse; his leg is broken. He sends the Admiral to attack on his left, and charges Monsieur's centre.

Condé had with him neither a foot-soldier nor a gun. Out of the entire 'bataille' he had brought only one or two *compagnies d'ordonnance* and a few noblemen and gentlemen of his suite—in all three hundred horse. He had neither time to wait for more troops nor leisure to retire. In a few minutes he would be surrounded. Yet, immediately on arriving, he ordered Coligny to oppose the Duc de Guise with all his cavalry, and he himself set off to rescue his right and engage the massive column of the Duc d'Anjou. He called for his arms. As his helmet was being presented to him, La Rochefou-

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cauld's horse broke his leg by a kick; he had already crushed one arm by a fall. Mastering the pain, he turned to his followers, and, pointing first to his injured limbs and then to his standard—which his cornet waved in the breeze—bearing the device, 'Doux le péril pour Christ et la patrie,'[1] he exclaimed: 'Behold, nobles of France, behold the long-wished-for moment! Never forget in what a plight Louis de Bourbon went into battle for Christ and country!'[2] And then, bending forward in the saddle, with his three hundred horse he charged the eight hundred 'lances' of Monsieur.

The right of the Protestants is dislodged, Coligny beaten, and Condé, after a valiant resistance, is surrounded, captured, and assassinated.

A charge led by Condé was irresistible. Squadron by squadron they yielded, till at one moment the confusion became so great among the Catholics that many of them thought they had lost the day. But each successive advantage diminished the strength of the hero of this ephemeral victory; fresh reserves came up in front of him, and already his flanks were exposed. The Admiral had completely failed in his attempt; his cornet was taken, his troop broken, and he himself put to flight. On the other hand, Soubise, on seeing the Prince come into action, had flown to his assistance with his cavalry, and had thus left the road along the pond defenceless. Montpensier forced it, and, while he was dislodging the infantry, the 'reîtres,' who followed him, fell upon Condé's squadron in the rear. The Prince's charger was killed under him. In such a confusion, and impeded by his wounds, he was unable to mount another. Yet, despite all, his brave comrades would not desert him; and the Poitevin gentlemen especially signalised them-

[1] 'For Christ and country, danger is sweet.' [2] D'Aubigné.

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selves by their prowess. Soubise and twelve others of them were captured, covered with wounds; and upwards of fifty more were killed. A veteran, named La Vergne, who had brought into battle twenty-five sons and nephews, was left on the field with fifteen of them, 'all in one heap together.'[1] Left almost alone, with his back to a tree, kneeling on one knee, and deprived of the use of one of his legs, Condé still defended himself. But his strength was beginning to fail him, when he perceived two Catholic gentlemen to whom he had once been of service—Saint-Jean and D'Argence. He called out to them, lifted the vizor of his helmet, and tendered to them his gauntlets. The two horsemen alighted and swore that they would risk their lives for his; others joined them and hastened to assist the illustrious captive.

Meanwhile the Royal cavalry continued the pursuit. The companies one by one passed the group which had collected round Condé. Soon the Prince recognized the red cloaks of Monsieur's body-guard. He pointed to them with his finger. D'Argence understood. 'Hide your face!' he called out. 'Ah, D'Argence, D'Argence!' replied Condé, 'you will not be able to save me.' Then, like Cæsar, covering his face, he awaited death. The unfortunate Prince knew but too well the perfidious character of the Duc d'Anjou, his personal hatred to himself, and his bloody 'recommendations.'[2] The guards had just passed him, when Montesquiou, their captain, learned the name of the prisoner who was thus surrounded.

[1] D'Aubigné.

[2] 'Il (*Montesquiou*) n'avoit garde de le faillir autrement; car il (*Condé*) avoit esté fort recommandé à plusieurs des favoris dudit Monseigneur que je sçay . . .' (Brantôme.)

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'Kill! kill! mordioux!' he shouted, and, turning his horse abruptly, galloped up to him, and by a pistol shot from behind shattered the skull of the hero.

Strange fatality of that illustrious house! The chief of the race, the first of the Condés, falls, by a treacherous blow, in a civil war, fighting against his King. And the last of his descendants, after having, like him, served under a flag which unhappily was not that of France, was doomed to die in the ditches of Vincennes, the victim of a crime which history has justly reprobated.

The Protestant army rallies in a few days, not having sustained great losses.

The losses of the Protestants were, upon the whole, less than might have been expected after so great a disaster, and seem not to have exceeded four hundred men, almost all of whom, however, were gentlemen of distinction. Their artillery, which they had been unable to bring on the field, was that very evening in safety at Cognac. The principal part of the infantry had never been engaged. D'Acier, who was coming up rapidly with six thousand infantry, had halted on learning the results of the battle, and had rallied the débris of Puyvault's bands; then, reaching Jarnac, and breaking down the bridges behind him, he had also entered Cognac by the left bank of the Charente. Other detachments, which had been scattered, through the distribution of the various corps of the army, had thrown themselves into Angoulême. The Admiral, pursued till nightfall, had halted at Saint-Sulpice, on the road to Saint-Jean-d'Angely. Next day, having rallied the cavalry, which was still considerable, he proceeded to join the young Princes, who had already withdrawn to Saintes. The Protestant army was therefore far from destroyed, as the Catholics a few days later found to their cost.

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Criticism on the conduct of Condé and Coligny on that day.

The 'rencontre' of the thirteenth of March, 1569, scarcely deserves the title of 'battle.' It was no more than a series of fights sustained by troops which were detached and surprised, against an enemy stronger in numbers from the beginning, and attacking them with his whole forces. Condé was partially accountable for the ill success of the day through his indecision on the preceding days; but his temporary vacillation is forgotten in the recollection of his courage and self-devotion. The real responsibility rests with the Admiral. Had he, as he should have done when he was close to the enemy, himself looked to the execution of orders he had given on the twelfth, the army would never have been surprised. The heights opposite Châteauneuf and the position of Bassac could have been defended and abandoned in good time, and an orderly retreat effected. To this grave error Coligny added that of calling Condé to his aid with unfortunate precipitation, and of imperilling the whole army and its commander in order to save himself from a partial repulse. Finally, his contemporaries accuse him of having led his last charge feebly,[1] and of having appeared too anxious to secure his retreat, when the Prince, whom his

[1] 'Here the enemy, among whom it was said that the Admiral and D'Andelot were posted, charged but feebly; for, when they came within a lance's length, the greater number of them turned to the left.' . . . ('Mémoires de Tavannes.' The Maréchal's own account, already quoted.) Coligny's conduct was much talked about by the Catholics, and he was upbraided with it, with all the exaggerations of calumny. 'We cannot pass over in silence the "rencontre" at Cognac, where that Admiral too basely allowed a Prince to be murdered, whom he had previously in too cowardly a manner led astray, when a little heartiness on his part might have rescued him from the danger into which he had fallen. It was this conduct of which the poor Prince complained when dying, and when he found out —alas! too late—that no stanch heretic ever loved those of princely blood.' ('Advertissement des Catholiques anglois,' pamphlet already quoted.)

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imprudence had brought into action, was falling at his side. The bravery of Coligny is above suspicion; but his impatience of all authority, and his jealous disposition, are very well known; and we have seen only too frequently in our modern armies what results may follow from like causes. Now, however, that he was left the sole leader of his party and his army, we shall see the Admiral exhibiting all the resources of his capacity and his courage, and for three years showing himself so firm and so able that his adversaries, despairing of ever overthrowing him by open force, had recourse, for the destruction of him and his party, to an atrocious *coup d'état.*

Effect produced by Condé's death.

That which, in the eyes of the Catholics, gave so much importance to the victory of Jarnac was the death of Condé. All, however, did not recognize in the Prince the 'great enemy of the mass.'[1] It was by no means the universal opinion that the necessary consequence of our divisions was the extermination of their adversaries. Some, on the contrary, were of opinion that his death would render a settlement all the more difficult. But, among the chiefs of the party and its zealots, his death was celebrated as a deliverance. A solemn *Te Deum* was chanted at Court and in every church in France. The captured colours were sent to Romē, where the Pope followed them in procession to St. Peter's. Processions took place at Venice and at Brussels. As for the Duc d'Anjou, he displayed his exultation, with his habitual baseness, by the ignominious treatment to which he chose

[1] 'L'an mil cinq cent soixante-neuf,
Entre Jarnac et Châteauneuf,
On vit porter sur une asnesse
Ce *grand ennemy de la messe.*'
(*Contemporary Quatrain.*)

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to expose the remains of a vanquished kinsman—of a Prince of the blood fallen sword in hand.

1569 March 13. Treatment of his remains.

On the first intelligence of Condé's death, the Duc de Montpensier's secretary, Coustureau, had been despatched from head-quarters with the Baron de Magnac 'to find out the truth about that death.' "We found him there,' wrote he, 'laid across an ass; and the said Sieur Baron, having stopped it, took him by the hair of the head to expose to view his face, which he had turned to the ground, and asked me if I recognized him. But as he had one eye out, and was much disfigured, I did not know what to say, except that it resembled his figure and hair, and that I could say no more.'[1] However, the accounts of those who surrounded him dispersed every doubt, and the corpse, thus thrown over the back of an ass, with its legs and arms hanging downward, was transported to Jarnac, where Monsieur slept on the night of the battle. There the body of Condé was thrown down amid the sobs of a few Protestant prisoners, among whom were two officers of his own troop, Corbozon and Clermont d'Amboise, who with tears kissed the inanimate remains of their illustrious chief. This touching spectacle did not put a stop to the ruffianly jests of Monsieur and his favourites.[2] For two whole days the remains of the

[1] 'La Vie de Louis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, par Nicolas Coustureau.' Rouen, 1642.

[2] According to La Motte Messemé, whose testimony we have no reason to question, the Duc de Montpensier was not mixed up in these disgraceful demonstrations. The author of 'Honnestes passetemps' was by the side of that Prince, in the very heat of the battle, when Condé's death was announced to him. Montpensier received the intelligence with gravity and even sadness. 'At all events,' added he, 'I had rather think of him there where he is than if he had turned his back; he has had the satisfaction of dying sword in hand, and seeing many of our regiments flying once more before him.'

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Prince lay in a low room, exposed to the effects of the air and the vulgar insults of the courtiers. The Duc d'Anjou, who already combined a show of extraordinary piety with antichristian principles and unnatural vices, wished to raise a chapel over the scene of the assassination. But he was given to understand that this would tend to justify charges against him which were only too well founded, and he consented to hand over the body of Condé to the Duc de Longueville, his brother-in-law, who laid it with due honours in the ancestral vault at Vendôme.

Résumé of his life.

The treatment which Condé's remains had received raised everywhere the most profound disgust. The Catholics, for the most part, were ashamed of it.[1] And indeed, with the exception of a few fanatics and a few personal enemies, Condé was lamented on all sides. He was universally liked; loved and admired by many. He is eulogized by the pen of Montluc as much as by that of La Noue. Men spoke of his magnanimity, his humanity, his courtesy, his amiable and generous nature, his brilliant qualities as a soldier and a general. In courage and in boldness he was never excelled; and if he was wanting in those rare and surpassing qualities which constitute a great commander, if he was often undecided in his plans or blinded in action by his fiery nature, it is yet undeniable that in council he was judicious and full of expedients, and on the field of battle he was often almost inspired; ever admirable alike in

[1] In his 'Discours des Duels,' Brantôme himself, speaking of the right which Jarnac had to carry La Châteigneraye upon an ass, adds, with sadness, 'This was once done in one of our wars—where, I forbear to mention.'

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daring and in tenacity. His conduct after the battle of Saint-Quentin, and at Dreux, on the day of Saint-Denis, and throughout the whole of the second civil war; his choice of the theatre of the third, as well as some of the movements and engagements of the last campaign—any of these would be sufficient to make the reputation of a soldier. Had he been more unfettered as a party leader, more absolute in the command of his own army, he would doubtless have obtained more frequent and more complete successes.

He was dissolute and scandalous in his morals; he stirred up strife in his country, and opened its gates to the foreigner; he fought against his King; and he was so unhappy as to forsake the religion of his fathers. These are the shadows of the picture. We do not wish to justify him. But we make bold to say that in his vices and in his crimes, as in his virtues and his noble deeds, he was a type of his age and his country. No doubt he espoused Protestantism without any strong religious convictions. But it was not merely disgust and ambition that made him do so. In fighting under the Protestant standard he was not only seeking to avenge his personal wrongs; he was contending for the independence of the nation and the Crown, for the succession to the throne, then seriously menaced. He was opening the way to Henri IV. Whatever judgment one may form of his conduct, it is impossible not to admire his constancy under reverses; that high sense, ever free from haughtiness, which under all circumstances he showed, of his true dignity; his fortitude in maintaining, 'with more courage than force,'[1] an unequal contest; his faithfulness towards

[1] Castelnau.

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friends who were always suspecting him and who often thwarted him. And lastly, if he was an 'excellent leader in war,' he was also 'a lover of peace.'[1] No one showed himself more anxious to extinguish a fire that he had never lighted with his own hand. That almost artless credulity with which the Reformers so bitterly upbraided him attested at least his patriotism. Condé 'loved and revered France.' This was the judgment of his contemporaries. With posterity it is alike his excuse and his glory.

[1] La Noue. We subjoin the estimate of Louis I. Prince de Condé, given by La Noue, Montluc, and De Thou:—

La Noue.—'In courage and in courtesy there was no one of his time who surpassed him. His speech was eloquent, rather from nature than from cultivation; he was generous and most affable to all; he was withal an excellent leader in war, yet at the same time a lover of peace. He bore himself even better in adversity than in prosperity. . . . The loss of so many illustrious personages, both Catholic and Protestant, in our civil commotions is to be lamented; for they revered our France, and would have contributed to her advancement if discord had not stirred up the valour of the one party, to the destruction of the valour of the others.'

Montluc.—'It is the opinion of some that his death has contributed to the continuation of our wars; but I think that, had he survived, our affairs would have been in a worse state; for a Prince of the blood, with such a great Huguenot following as he had, would have obtained much more influence than M. l'Amiral ever had.' That poor Prince loved his country, and had pity on the people. . . . . I always found him very good-natured; jealousy of the greatness of others ruined him, as it has done many others. Further, he died in battle, in defence of a bad cause in the sight of God and man. It is a pity; for, had he been employed in another cause, he might have been of use to France.'

De Thou.—'Hic exitus fuit Ludovici Borbonii Condæi, regiæ stirpis viri, supra natalium splendorem magnitudine animi ac virtute illustrissimi; qui fortitudine, constantia, ingenio, solertia, rerum usu, comitate, facundia, liberalitate, quæ omneis simul virtutes in illo uno excellebant, paucos æqualeis, neminem, sua ætate, vel inimicorum confessione, superiorem habuit.'

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

BOOK II.

FROM THE BATTLE OF JARNAC TO THE DEATH OF HENRI IV.

1569—1610

HENRI DE BOURBON

FIRST OF THAT NAME; SECOND PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

BORN DECEMBER 29, 1552. DIED MARCH 5, 1588.

HENRI DE BOURBON,

SECOND OF THAT NAME; THIRD PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

BORN SEPTEMBER 1, 1588.

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

HENRI DE BOURBON.

FIRST OF THAT NAME.

1569—1588.

Two youths of sixteen and seventeen years, the Prince de Béarn and the new Prince de Condé, Henri I., are chosen leaders of the Protestants (March 1569); their position and circumstances.—'The pages of the Admiral.'—Their first actual fighting is on the day of Arnay-le-Duc (June 1570).—Attitude of Condé during the Peace; the Admiral's confidence in him; earnestness of his religious convictions.—His marriage with Marie de Clèves (July 1572).—Death of Jeanne d'Albret, and marriage of the King of Navarre.—Condé at Court; his courage and firmness subsequently to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (August 1572); he does not abjure till October.—Siege of La Rochelle (1573); the two Bourbons are compelled to be present at it.—Difference in the behaviour of Navarre and of Condé; injuries and troubles of the latter.—The Duc d'Anjou and Marie de Clèves.—Fresh party of the 'Malcontents,' headed by the Duc d'Alençon; he seeks union with the Montmorencies and Bourbons, or the 'Nouveaux.'—Peace (July 1573); Condé is unexpectedly appointed Governor of Picardie, and goes to Amiens.—A conspiracy is discovered on the eve of its outbreak (March 1574).—Arrest and noble bearing of Navarre.—Flight of Condé; he reaches Strasbourg.—The Malcontents and Protestants take up arms; Condé is chosen leader by them (July 1574).—His delay in the commencement of operations and ill success.—Fifth edict of peace (May 1576).—Fresh grievances of Condé; he is disappointed of the advantages secured to him by the treaty of peace.—Distrust of Navarre by the Protestants; their sympathy with Condé.—Marie de Clèves dies while her husband is away (October 1574).—Condé's establishment in La Rochelle and the west, which becomes a pretext for the organization of the League.—General excitement.—The States of Blois.—Official and secret negotiations.—Fresh war; ill success of Condé; divisions in the parties; unexpected peace (Sept. 1577).—Coolness between the two cousins; Catherine endeavours completely to estrange

them from each other.—Condé surprises La Fère (November 1579).—'War of the Lovers;' Condé is thereby compelled to fly.—He appeals for help to the Low Countries, to England, and to Germany; his treaty with the Elector Palatine.—He is compelled to accept the Peace of Fleix (November 1580); his relations with Navarre and with the extreme Protestants.—Situation of France, of the Bourbons, and of parties after the death of the Duc d'Anjou (1584); the King, against his own wish, takes part in the League by the treaty of Nemours and the edict of July (1585).—Measures taken by Navarre to keep up the contest; his fidelity to national interests; moderation of his language.—*Brutum fulmen.*—Commencement of hostilities (September 1585); success of Condé in Saintonge.—Disastrous enterprise at Angers; flight of Condé to Guernsey.—His return to Saintonge.—His marriage with Charlotte de la Trémouille (March 1586).—The extreme factions are equally dissatisfied with the King and the King of Navarre.—Armistice (August 1586); fruitless negotiations.—Formation of three new Royal armies; hopes of Henri III.—Insignificant operations of Joyeuse in Poitou.—He quits his army (August 1587); Navarre and Condé recommence the campaign.—Navarre marches towards the Loire to join his cousin the Comte de Soissons; the Prince de Condé goes to meet the German army.—Joyeuse, reinforced, marches towards Libourne, where Matignon awaits him.—After having reinforced his army, Navarre marches parallel with Joyeuse, and gets before him to Coutras (September 19); they resolve to give battle.—In the night Joyeuse, with seven thousand men, marches on Coutras.—The Protestant army, five thousand five hundred strong, takes up a favourable position.—Battle of Coutras (September 20); cannonade; unimportant success of the Royal advanced guard.—Navarre harangues his troops; he reinforces his left.—Decisive engagement in the centre; rout of the Royal army.—Meeting of Condé and Saint-Luc.—Dispersion of the army.—Condé's designs; he falls sick, and retires to Saint-Jean-d'Angely; his death (March 5, 1588).—Suspicions of poison; the page Belcastel and the comptroller Brillaud; prosecution of the Princess, who remains seven years in confinement.—Henri IV.'s estimate of his cousin.—Critique on this Prince.

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1569 March

Two youths of sixteen and seventeen years, the Prince de Béarn and the new Prince de Condé,

A FEW days after the disaster of Jarnac, the principal officers of the Protestant army assembled at Tonnay-Charente, with Jeanne d'Albret, and chose for their leader the youthful son of that Princess. But, as a mark of their respect and gratitude for the memory of the hero whom they had lost, they associated with him in command the new Prince de Condé. For more than two years the double signature, 'Henry, Henry de Bourbon,' appeared

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1569 March. Henri I., are chosen leaders of the Protestants; their position and circumstances.

at the foot of the official documents of the Reformed party.[1] The two cousins were nearly of an age; he who had just inherited the already illustrious name of Condé was the elder. He was nearly seventeen.[2] The Prince de Béarn was only sixteen. They were both of them active, clever, good horsemen, and good swordsmen. In other respects they were unlike, and had never met before. Condé was very short, like his father; he was slender, almost lean in figure, and the expression of his long face betokened an extremely sensitive nature, a nervous and delicate constitution; while the moderate stature, the broad shoulders, and the round face of his cousin indicated a robust frame, invigorated by the air of the Pyrenees. After having spent a few years in Paris, where he had attended the classes of the Collége de Navarre, the son of Jeanne d'Albret had, at eleven years of age, returned to his mother's estates. There, in the quiet of the country, educated under the watchful and strict eye of that Princess, he received the instructions of La Gaucherie and of Florent-Chrétien, or wandered freely among the woods and mountains; and never had a more manly education developed a happier nature. On the other hand, nothing could have been more gloomy than the childhood of Condé. At twelve years of age, when his heart was beginning to make itself heard, he had seen his mother, worn out by sorrow and sickness,

[1] M. Berger de Xivrey ('Lettres missives de Henri IV.' vol. i.) publishes six letters bearing this double signature. We subjoin three which appear to have escaped the attention of this learned Academician. (See Appendix, No. IV.) There are also several manifestoes and documents signed thus which have appeared in various lists. And sometimes the two young Princes seem to have separately signed identical letters; at other times their names were followed by those of Coligny and the leaders of the party.

[2] He was born December 29, 1552.

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languish for many months, and expire at last in the arms of a husband who had only made his appearance as she lay dying. He had never known the care of a mother, the pleasant intimacies and friendly rivalries of college life, or the careful and loving guidance of an intelligent tutor. His father, carried away by the turmoil of pleasure or business, and soon married again, left him to the care of fanatical ministers; his brothers, who were much younger than himself, were still under female charge. From infancy he had had to endure the hardships of civil war; at one time imprisoned in Orléans, amid the horrors of a prolonged siege, at another wandering in the company of some band of fugitives; and when at last his father, whom he scarcely knew by sight, had summoned him to take his place by his side in the army, it was but on the eve of his death. At the age of seventeen he had experienced nothing of life but its sorrows, nothing of war but its miseries.

The very first document for which his signature was demanded was a sacrifice on his part. He was required to deliver to the Queen of England the 'rings' and jewellery which were then almost his only heritage. He consented without a word. Jeanne d'Albret, her son, and the Admiral all stripped themselves of their property in like manner. As she could get no fortresses, Elizabeth contented herself with diamonds, and upon this security lent twenty thousand livres.[1]

From his father's widow, Françoise d'Orléans, Condé appears to have received neither assistance nor advice

[1] The Prince de Condé to Cecil, June 5 and July 4, 1569. Inventory of the rings deposited and sent to England, June 12, 1569. Receipt from Queen Elizabeth, August 7, 1569. State Paper Office and British Museum (Cotton).

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but the Queen of Navarre looked upon him somewhat in the light of a second son. On the first intelligence of the disaster of Jarnac she had written to the Prince de Béarn, telling him that he must love his cousin as a brother, and 'cultivate with him an affection cemented by the ties of blood and religion which should never be severed.' [1] Affection cannot be had to order; and there is no evidence that it was ever very strong between these two cousins. But it is well known how submissive the Prince of Béarn was to his mother, and, as long as she lived, the outward appearance of close intimacy was strictly kept up by both Princes. They had one retinue between them, they lived in common, and the honours paid to each were precisely identical.

'The Admiral's pages.'

The second thing on which Jeanne d'Albret insisted was implicit obedience to the Admiral. This precept, too, was faithfully observed both by her son and her ward. There were not wanting those about them who tried to instil into them a premature ambition, they were advised to take things into their own hands; but Coligny had no great difficulty in suppressing these momentary fits of wilfulness stimulated by the courtiers. Until his death he maintained his authority undiminished; and, although the Protestants were careful, both in their official documents at the time, and afterwards in the memoirs they have left to posterity, to speak of the 'armies of the Princes' and the 'travels of the Princes,' the latter, in the ranks and by the camp-fire, were commonly called 'the Admiral's pages.'

The charge of these youths, who required at once

[1] Letter of March 27, 1569. 'Lettres missives de Henri IV.' i. 62.

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tuition and control, while it was necessary to leave them the appearance of being in command, was a task sufficiently complicated to have caused Coligny at first, it would seem, considerable embarrassment. He could not but feel that their presence 'encouraged the party;'[1] but, whether because he feared to risk their lives, or because he was afraid of their gaining too much influence with his army, he sent them away as soon as any really serious movements were beginning. Thus they were only able to put in an appearance at the siege of Poitiers; and on the day of Moncontour, after having marched past at the head of the 'bataille,' they were ordered to withdraw in haste, 'not without tears and regrets,' adds the Protestant historian, 'and with serious damage to the army, because their escort was so large that it was thereby considerably weakened.' It was at Arnay-le-Duc that he permitted them for the first time to take the field; and even on that day he at first tried 'to make them mere spectators.' But he had then an insufficient force with him, and his position was too critical for him to think of detaching an escort. Let us here say a word or two on that engagement and the circumstances which preceded it, for the two youths on that day learned some useful lessons.

October 30

Their first actual fighting is on the day of Arnay-le-Duc, June 26, 1570.

After the disasters of the year 1569, the firmness of Jeanne d'Albret, the fortitude of Coligny, and the inactivity of the Duc d'Anjou had saved the Protestant army. But it was no longer possible to carry on the war in so confined a region as Poitou and Saintonge. A design far more extended than that of conquering towns filled the

[1] D'Aubigné.

great soul of the Admiral, and he carried it out with rare success. Leaving strong garrisons in La Rochelle and Angoulême, the only two towns which their party retained in the west, he took with him the two Princes and the whole of his remaining forces. Notwithstanding the disease from which he was so acutely suffering, notwithstanding the rigour of the winter and the efforts of the able Montluc, a splendid march, afterwards known as 'le voyage des princes,' brought him, through Guyenne, Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Lyonnais, to the very heart of France. The Court had allowed 'that little ball of snow to roll on unimpeded till in a short time it had made itself as large as a house.'[1] At last Paris became alarmed. An army fifteen thousand strong, with twelve guns, was formed in Orléannais, and despatched against the Protestants. The Maréchal de Cossé, who commanded it, learned at Autun that the enemy had passed him and were on their way to Arnay-le-Duc, in order to reach La Charité. The last-named town was the arsenal of the central Protestants; it was therefore essential to give the Admiral battle before he could throw himself into it. Cossé fell back in all haste in order to block the way; but, being unable to get first to Arnay-le-Duc, he took up his position to the north-east of that little town, near the village of Clomot. Coligny boldly drew up his men in order of battle. To reply to the splendid artillery of the Royal army he had not a single gun; the numerous detachments which he had levied in Languedoc and Dauphiné, and the fifteen companies which had more recently joined him from La Charité under Bricquemault, had only filled up the gaps left in the Protestant ranks through

[1] La Noue.

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1570 June 26.

skirmishes, desertions, the effects of climate, and the fatigues of several months' marching. Hence his whole force did not exceed two thousand five hundred arquebusiers and four thousand horse, the greater part of whom were wretchedly mounted. But the choice of position and the valour of the soldiers made up for their inferiority in numbers. A tortuous brook watered the foot of some wooded hills, and turned some mills which were ranged along its banks; deep pools formed by the mill dams at intervals rendered its passage difficult. The Admiral took up his position between two of these mills, which were occupied by some of his arquebusiers, the rest of his infantry he threw into the woods; his cavalry occupied the hills, the hollows of which protected them from musketry fire; so that the Royal army was able neither to employ its artillery nor to avail itself of its superior numbers by outflanking the enemy; for the nature of the stream would not allow of its being crossed at any point except immediately in front of the Huguenots. The mills and the woods were well defended. If the Catholics broke the Protestant infantry at one point, they were immediately charged by the cavalry and driven back before they had time to deploy. It was in these engagements that the two young Bourbons for the first time took the field. They behaved with the bravery hereditary in their race. Condé was at the head of the second échelon of cavalry, the Prince de Béarn commanded the first. The fight lasted thus for a whole day, with considerable loss to the assailants and but little to the defending force. Night found the latter still masters of their positions. Next morning, before daybreak, the Reformers were on their way to Autun, and Cossé's troops, wearied by the previous

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1570

Attitude of Condé during the Peace.

day's fighting, were unable to follow them. A few days later they entered La Charité.

This success—for it was an important and brilliant success—hastened the conclusion of the negotiations that had been for some time going on, and procured for the Huguenots most favourable terms.

In peace Condé remained still, as in war, the comrade of the Prince de Béarn, the adopted and dutiful son of Jeanne d'Albret and the Admiral. His brothers were still at a distance from him, and the education which these younger Princes were receiving tended even more than distance to separate them from their elder brother; for, although they were permitted to retain about them a few of the old Protestant servants of their father, they were, as the Huguenots used to say, 'nourris à la romaine.' As early as the month of June 1569, the Cardinal de Bourbon had requested the King to entrust to his charge the children whom his brother had left under age.[1] Not only did the King grant this request, but the Dowager Princess does not appear to have offered any opposition to it. At the time of her husband's death she had exhibited warm sympathy with the cause of the Reformers, and had at first placed herself under the protection of Queen Elizabeth.[2] But she very quickly cooled down, quitted La Rochelle, and residing sometimes at Court, sometimes on her estates in Brie, she shared with her brother-in-law, the Cardinal, the education of her sons and stepsons in the Catholic religion.[3] She herself attended neither

[1] Norreys to Cecil, June 14, 1559. State Paper Office.

[2] The Princesse de Condé to Queen Elizabeth, April 12, 1569. State Paper Office. (See Appendix, No. V.)

[3] There were five; two by the first marriage, viz. François de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, born August 14, 1558, and Charles de Bourbon, born March 30, 1562; and three by the second marriage, namely, Charles de

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1571

The Admiral's confidence in Condé. Earnestness of his religious convictions.

Huguenot preaching nor Catholic mass, and lived with a license both of creed and of morals at which the Queen of Navarre was highly indignant,[1] and which must have been as revolting to the sincerely religious feelings of Condé. Calvinistic doctrine had deeply penetrated the mind of this Prince; the teaching he had received had combined with his misfortunes to create in him a fervid religious enthusiasm; his spirits, naturally bright, had become sombre, and, to his mind, vice, pleasure, and popery were all equally shocking. Thus everything conduced to his estrangement from Court, and the confidence which Coligny manifested towards him added to the charm of the 'mélancoliques heures'—his own words—which he passed at La Rochelle. The Admiral had appreciated the religious earnestness and consistency of Condé. He seemed disposed to delegate to him the command of the Protestants in the west. It was Condé who, in his absence, carried out his orders, and kept him informed of all that was going on; they exchanged frequent letters, and the young lieutenant exhibited a touching reverence for his veteran commander.[2] The Prince would therefore never have dreamed of quitting La Rochelle without a pressing invitation from his protectress. Now, Jeanne had declined to sanction the marriage of her son to the King's

Bourbon, Comte de Soissons, born November 3, 1566; Louis, and Benjamin de Bourbon. On the education of these Princes see the letters of the Dowager Princesse de Condé given in our Appendix, No. V.

[1] 'Your cousin the Marquise is so altered that she gives no sign of belonging to the (Reformed) religion, except that she does not go to Mass; for, as for her manner of life, she is just like the Papists; and my sister the Princess is still worse. . . . . .' (Jeanne d'Albret to her son, Blois, March 8, 1872. 'Lettres missives de Henri IV.' i. 33.)

[2] We give in the Appendix (No. V.) one of these letters, from which we have borrowed several details. The original is preserved in the Bibliothèque at Berne. ('Collection Bongars,' v. cxli.)

CHAP. I.

sister, unless the destinies of her beloved nephew were at the same time fixed. She had obtained for him the hand of his cousin Marie de Clèves, Marquise d'Isles, daughter of François first Duc de Nevers and of Marguerite de Bourbon,[1] a young and accomplished woman of wealth and rare beauty. Condé accepted her joyfully, and obtained the consent of the Dowager Princess, whom he had met at Court. The latter was even willing that the ceremony should take place at the house of her mother, the Marquise de Rothelin, a zealous and inflexible Calvinist. In the month of July 1572, they were married in the beautiful château of Blandy, near Melun, which had always been one of the most secure strongholds of the religion professed by the youthful pair.

1572 July. His marriage with Marie de Clèves.

This thoroughly Protestant union was like a family gathering for the Reformed leaders, and yet it seemed to take place under mournful auspices. She who had planned it with truly maternal anxiety, Jeanne d'Albret, was not permitted to be present. A violent and rapid disease had carried her off a month before. Sinister rumours were circulated as to her death, and few of the party doubted but that the Queen of Navarre had been the victim of poison. But nothing was said openly. Catherine was universally mistrusted; but men began to rely upon the King, who seemed to be weary of his mother's constant domineering, and to distrust the faction of Lorraine. Moreover, the Admiral, weary of the civil war, and this time full of a noble and patriotic scheme which he was pursuing with his wonted tenacity, was bent upon running every personal risk to bring about the intervention of France in the Low Countries. It was

Death of Jeanne d'Albret.

[1] Marguerite de Bourbon was sister to Louis I., Prince de Condé.

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1572 Marriage of the King of Navarre. Condé at Court. His courage and firmness subsequently to the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. August 1572.

necessary for him above everything to gain the confidence of the King. Was it possible to refuse the pledge which this Prince was giving of his good-will: the hand of his sister—his 'Margot'—offered to him on whom the Reformers rested so many hopes? All was in readiness for the marriage which had been for so long a time the theme of conversation; the principal Protestant personages flocked to Court, and the new King of Navarre arrived, accompanied by Condé.

Who has not read of those marriage festivities, so rudely interrupted by a frightful scene of carnage: the murder of the Admiral, the arrest of the two Bourbons, the massacre of all their friends, all their retainers, under their very eyes, in the courtyard of the Louvre? Neither years nor rank were respected. The assassins penetrated into the chamber of Marguerite, and an aged man, named Briou, who had never quitted the young Prince de Conti,[1] who had seen more than fourscore years, and whose hair was white as snow, was stabbed with the child clinging around his neck, and trying with his little hands to ward off the blows.[2] It was in this terrible crisis that the firm and high-minded character of Condé displayed itself. When all others were struck down by terror; when even those who were most indignant at this atrocious crime were the loudest in its praises in public; when the Président de Thou,[3] 'who wept and sighed at home,' arrived

[1] Condé's second brother, and, like him, son of Éléonore de Roye.

[2] D'Aubigné.

[3] Christophe de Thou, father of the historian. This weak but honest Président afterwards expressed his real opinion of the conspiracy of August 24, 1572, in a Latin quotation. When St. Bartholomew was mentioned to him, he used to reply in the beautiful lines of Statius:

'Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant
Sæcula! nos certe taceamus' . . .
(*Silvarum*, Book V. ii. line 88.)

CHAP. I.

1572 August 24.

at the head of his company to congratulate the King on his action, and enlarged on the proverb, 'Qui ne sait dissimuler ne sait régner;'[1] when already the attitude of Navarre was passive and resigned—Condé alone stood firm. Even on the very night of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, when led before the King and violently interrogated, he replied in such a haughty manner that Charles IX., in a passion, dismissed him from his presence with these terrible words: 'Mad conspirator! rebel! son of a rebel! if in three days you do not change your tone, I will have you strangled.'[2]

He does not abjure till October.

The delay was a little longer; a minister, named Des Roziers, who had been converted from Protestantism to Catholicism by the noise of the musketry, was entrusted with the task of instructing in his new faith the King of Navarre and Catherine de Bourbon, the Prince and the Princesse de Condé, 'in order to give them a more honourable excuse for conversion.' Already all the Reformers had abjured their faith; it was the month of September; Condé alone of his family remained firm. The King again sent for him. As soon as he caught sight of him he rushed towards him, and exclaimed with an oath: 'Mass, death, or the Bastille! Choose!' 'God allows me not, my Lord and King,' replied Condé, quietly, 'to choose the first! Of the others, be it at your pleasure; which may God in His providence deign to direct!' The King, furious, called, it is said, for arms to kill him on the spot, but the Queen threw herself at the feet of her husband and prevented him. Condé was led out. When

[1] D'Aubigné.

[2] 'Enragé, séditieux, rebelle, fils de rebelle, si dans trois jours vous ne changez de langage, je vous ferai étrangler.'

CHAP. I. 1572

he got home he had a long interview with Des Roziers, at the conclusion of which he at last yielded, and, 'laying upon his head the risk of his damnation, escaped the Bastille prepared for him.'[1] On the twenty-ninth of September, he and the King of Navarre were present at a solemn mass in honour of St. Michael; and on the third of October the new converts wrote to the Pope deploring their former sins and offering him unqualified submission. Condé and Marie de Clèves expressed their regret for having celebrated marriage without the rites of the Church. The Holy Father granted them absolution and a dispensation, and, on the fourth of December, the Cardinal de Bourbon gave them the marriage blessing in the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.[2]

Siege of La Rochelle (1573); the two Bourbons are compelled to be present at it.

'For two months a horrible and cruel tempest raged throughout France.'[3] There were so many massacres that it might be thought the Protestant party was for ever exterminated. The military nobility, which composed the fighting strength of the Protestants, was decimated; those who had escaped the knife were either in confinement or flight. But the Reformers of the middle classes, among whom were to be found the bone and sinew of the party, had not been reached. They had stood out. Among other towns La Rochelle had been proof against either surprise or concessions more or less sincere; in order to reduce it, recourse must be had to other means than treachery and assassination. An army was collected in Poitou under the command of Monsieur. It was thought

[1] D'Aubigné.

[2] 'Les actes et dispence du mariage confirmé, contracté, et célébré par l'auctorité apostolique, entre très-nobles et très-illustres Henry de Bourbon et Marie de Clèves, prince et princesse de Condé. Lyon, par Benoist Rigaud, 1573.'

[3] Mezeray.

that the conqueror of Jarnac and of Moncontour would have no difficulty in getting the better of such a handful of rebel citizens; and, in order to reduce them to despair, their former leaders, the converted Bourbons, received the order to follow the army.

Difference in the behaviour of Navarre and of Condé. Injuries and troubles of the latter.

To refuse obedience to the summons, or to escape from it by flight, was impossible. The Princes had not with them a single friend, or even a servant, whom they could trust, and the vigilance with which they had been watched ever since St. Bartholomew's Day had never been for an instant relaxed. At the same time they were not both treated exactly alike. The King of Navarre, if he had not more liberty, had at all events more respect shown him. The courtiers found him a pleasant companion; he made himself agreeable to the ladies; the King was fond of him; the zealots did not mistrust him; and when the 'kinglet' found the jokes against him pushed too far, he knew how to turn the laugh on his own side by lively repartees. As for his mother's instructions and the lessons of the ministers, he seemed to have quite forgotten them all; and he seemed to be accommodating himself so well to this new style of life, and supporting so cheerfully his ill-fortune, that the most clear-sighted might be deceived into thinking that pleasure was his only thought. Condé, on the other hand, was unchanged. He had always the same austere and gloomy bearing, he made no secret of his disgust at Court life, and at the religious exercises which were imposed upon him. Nothing in his behaviour tended to soften the hatred with which his name was regarded. He found, too, no consideration, no sympathy; and, to complete the affronts that were offered to him, the Duc

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1573

The Duc d'Anjou and Marie de Clèves.

d'Anjou had been smitten by his youthful wife, and openly persecuted her with his insolent love.

There was at that time at Court an ecclesiastic of twenty-seven years of age, named Philippe Desportes, who had while in Italy learned the art of writing songs of gallantry and passion, and who will always be looked upon as one of the most elegant poets of the sixteenth century. Desportes was poor; he was anxious to become an abbé, and his compliant muse became the servant of the intrigues of the last Valois sovereigns, as we shall see Malherbe at a later date minister to the fancies of Henri IV. In his capacity of poet go-between, he first became known by some verses which were intended to reconcile Charles IX. and Marie Touchet, during a temporary quarrel; and he now brought out an elegy, in which, under the characters of Eurylas and Olympias, there figured two persons not easily to be mistaken. The title of the piece alone—'A First Adventure'—was a marked allusion; for the lovely Marie de Clèves was, it is said, the only woman who had ever touched the heart of the Duc d'Anjou.[1] In the opening verses, dedicated to Eurylas, everyone discovered the young and brilliant victor of Jarnac and Moncontour, and, under the absurd description of the husband of Olympias, there was no mistaking the sombre and jealous character of the Prince de Condé. The sister of Eurylas, Fleurdelis—an easily

[1] 'Élégies,' Book ii. At a later period, Desportes strung together sonnet after sonnet in honour of Renée des Rieux, called 'La belle Châteauneuf,' who was the Duc d'Anjou's mistress. Towards the close of his life, having been plentifully furnished with rich abbacies, he endeavoured to atone for the errors of his youth by the composition of religious poems, which are much less known, and, to say the truth, much less entertaining than his early writings.

detected pseudonym for Queen Marguerite—lent to the passion of her brother the aid of her experience. She upbraided Olympias with her coldness, and,

> Plus savante aux effets de l'amoureuse flamme,

she enlightened her by her counsels.

These overtures were but too well received, if we are to believe Desportes and the verses wherein he describes a supposed interview between the two lovers in an apartment in the Louvre,

> Au fond du vieux palais, autrefois le séjour
> Des demi-dieux de France. . . .

But we are far from trusting to the unsupported testimony of Desportes; nor would we see in the voluptuous pictures in which he delights anything beyond a very unworthy exercise of poetic license. But when Monsieur actually encouraged the circulation of such verses, he assuredly made no secret of his passion; all contemporary historians agree on this. His guilty love had declared itself with a violence which seemed resolved to defy every obstacle, just as the order was received to march to the siege of La Rochelle.

In following the Duc d'Anjou, Condé had at least the consolation of knowing that Marie de Clèves was removed from the danger of his detestable advances. But what bitterness must have filled his soul when he found himself before that town which was to him as it were a second fatherland! What grief to behold opposed to him behind its walls, those gentlemen of Saintonge whose brothers fell so nobly at Jarnac, those citizens who had so often received him with enthusiasm when he accompanied Jeanne d'Albret among them! Compelled to fight against his

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friends, led against them too by the very man whom he had a right to call the murderer of his father, and who was now intent on seducing his wife, he courted danger with the eagerness of a man weary of his life. Added to which he was conscious that the Court was anxious to be rid of him: some historians state that he was poisoned; he himself, feeling that he was sickening, thought so too, and longed instead for a soldier's death. 'My enemies,' said he, 'have only to send me to the breach or to the charge; I will head them and expose myself to every risk.'

Fresh party of the 'Malcontents' headed by the Duc d'Alençon. He seeks union with the Montmorencies and Bourbons, or the 'Nouveaux.'

The siege of La Rochelle had, however, lasted four months, and there were no signs of its capitulating. Not only was the Royal army being decimated by sickness and unsuccessful assaults, but the attitude of the nobility who surrounded Monsieur began to give cause for uneasiness. One party, which gathered strength day by day, attached itself to the Duc d'Alençon, the King's youngest brother, who was serving in the army for the first time, and who seems to have brought thither more taste for intrigue than for war. These 'Malcontents' counted on the assistance of the numerous and powerful family of Montmorency, who had since the Massacre of St. Bartholomew kept in the background, having retired to their estates or their vice-royalties, as well as on the support of the Huguenots who were scattered and concealed in different provinces. Agents were despatched to Poitou, Saintonge, and Gascogne to stir up the fragments of the party, and overtures were made to the 'Nouveaux'—by which name the two Bourbons and those who, like them, had recently abjured Protestantism, were known in the camp. The King of Navarre received these overtures with his wonted caution;

CHAP. I.

1573 July.

Peace is concluded; Condé is unexpectedly appointed Governor of Picardie, and goes to Amiens.

Condé, less self-possessed, and bleeding at the heart, 'spoke only too openly.' [1]

Several plans were formed; but no attempt had been made to put them in practice, when they were interrupted by the Peace. The election of the Duc d'Anjou to the throne of Poland had furnished an excuse for raising this unfortunate siege. The Rochellois obtained most advantageous terms, not only for themselves, but for the whole Protestant party, which already in several provinces was becoming reorganized as of old. The troops were disbanded; the Princes and the courtiers returned to Paris, and then accompanied the newly-elected King as far as Lorraine. He had decided, not without some hesitation, to accept his splendid banishment. Condé was one of the party. In taking leave of him, the King of Poland informed him, to his great surprise, that he had obtained for him from his brother the restoration of the Government of Picardie, and permission to go there at once.[2] Perhaps Condé owed this to the fascinations of Marie de Clèves; perhaps also, in thus favouring the Prince, his unexpected patron had merely deferred to the advice of his mother the Queen. Catherine doubtless hoped thus to break up the alarming coalition between the 'Malcontents,' the 'Nouveaux,' and the Huguenots, between the Duc d'Alençon, the Montmorencies, and the Bourbons; she doubtless wished to deprive the King of Navarre—who was supposed to be as vacillating as his father—of the support and advice of a kinsman whose firmness was

[1] D'Aubigné.

[2] In a letter, dated November 13, 1579, in which he claims his restoration to this post, Condé reminds the Queen-Mother that he had obtained it 'by the means of the King' (Henri III. was then on the throne). Autograph letter. 'Archives de Condé' (Appendix IX.).

CHAP. I.

1574 March.

Conspiracy discovered on the eve of its outbreak. Arrest and noble bearing of Navarre. Flight of Condé; he reaches Strasbourg.

dreaded. Condé therefore set out for Amiens towards the close of the year 1573; but his departure did not at all affect the schemes of the new allies, the conspiracy which had begun under the walls of La Rochelle continued its course, and the plot was just about to explode when the cowardice of the Duc d'Alençon ruined all. The King of Navarre was arrested and interrogated; but instead of defending himself or accusing others, he gave such a pathetic and dignified history of his life that the King was moved, and his adversaries discomfited. This speech was a revelation; through the admirably constructed form of words with which Queen Marguerite, according to Court gossip, had clothed the thoughts of her husband, men felt now for the first time the throbbing of that noble heart which had inspired those few pages, and found such words for the utterance of its emotions.

We cannot here detail the conduct of Henri IV. during the four years which elapsed after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It would be a history in which there was much to blame. But with all his weaknesses and lapses from virtue, he yet was able to avoid everything that savoured of baseness. He knew how to feign without treachery, and to concede without discredit. Surrounded by corruption, placed in a position of unprecedented difficulty, with all the craft and diplomacy which it necessitated, it is a marvel that he was able to preserve at once his life and his honour. In the last respect his conduct presents a remarkable contrast to that of the Duc d'Alençon. In proportion as the King of Navarre had exhibited dignity and prudence, so had the latter shown cowardice and folly. Though endangered by the avowals of that wretched Prince, and by those of the two victims whose

names remain associated with this conspiracy—La Mole and Coconnas—Condé was, nevertheless, able to effect his escape from Amiens, just as he was on the eve of arrest. He succeeded in reaching Strasbourg, where the liberties of an imperial city secured him from all danger.

The 'Malcontents,' and Protestants take up arms; Condé is chosen leader by them.

As soon as he was in safety, he wrote a respectful letter to the King, to which he received a much more gracious answer than he expected. Charles IX. excused him, and advised him to remain firm in the Catholic faith, and to repair to the King of Poland, who was ready to receive him. But Condé was too high-spirited to accept such hospitality, which he well knew was a snare set for his honour; and his piety was too real to allow him to continue the practice of a religion which he abhorred. Scarcely was he free when he returned publicly and joyfully to the faith from which in his heart he had never wavered. He was poor and without resources; but he counted on the assistance of the Protestant Princes. He wrote to Queen Elizabeth, to the Elector Palatine, and to his co-religionists in France.[1] In the whole of the south and west the latter were in arms. It was on the very day —Shrove Tuesday—when the conspiracy was to have been carried out, that the arrests had been made at Court; and this had been done so suddenly that there was no time to counter-order the rising in the provinces. The movement therefore had begun everywhere. The Protestants this time were not alone; the Montmorencies had been

[1] There are to be found in La Popelinière's 'Histoire' a number of despatches and memoirs written or signed by the Prince de Condé during the two years which he passed in Alsace and in Switzerland. M. de Bastard (who died in China, deeply lamented, since these lines were written) has printed several of them in his 'Vie de Jean de Ferrières,' but the greater part have remained unpublished.

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too deeply compromised, by the confessions of the Duc d'Alençon and of La Mole, to go back. François, the head of the family, was in prison; but two of his brothers, Thoré and Méru, had fled to Germany, where they were levying soldiers; and the most powerful of all —Damville—who was exercising in his government of Languedoc all the power of the great mediæval crown vassals, after some hesitation, finally joined them. The Duc d'Alençon and the King of Navarre being still retained at Court, Condé was the only Prince whom the malcontents were able to place at their head. Proclaimed in the first instance 'Chief and Governor-General of the Churches of France' by the assembly of Milhaud,[1] he was afterwards styled 'Protector of the Association of the peaceable Clergy and Catholics with the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom.[2]

His delay in the commencement of operations, and ill-success.

Yet he was either unable, or did not know how, to do what was expected of him. While Damville was campaigning in Languedoc, Montbrun in Dauphiné, and La Noue in Poitou, we find him wandering for more than two years between Strasbourg, Berne, and Basle, always very busy, in frequent conference with the aged Beza, receiving and haranguing deputations or ministers from La Rochelle, despatching in every direction the Vidame de Chartres, Beauvoir la Nocle, and the other indefatigable agents who for twelve years had scoured Europe in quest of allies for the Huguenots, enlisting Swiss, concluding with the Elector Palatine a compact which would have been odious if it had not been absurd and impossible,[3] and

[1] July 1574.

[2] January 1575.

[3] Among other exorbitant concessions, he guaranteed to this German Prince possession of the Trois Évêchés, which the Empire was so intent on acquiring from France. The original of this treaty is in the

finally, despatching to the King endless ambassadors and protestations—in a word, negotiating and organizing a great deal, but never ending by taking the field. His father, leaving it to others to devise treaties and enlist soldiers, would have thrown himself into the thick of the fighting.

Never had any party been in a more favourable position. Charles IX. was dead. After spending several months and enormous sums in a gorgeous progress, Henri III. was occupying himself, not in restoring order to his kingdom, but settling the etiquette of his household, and presiding at religious ceremonies alternately with brutal debauches. The Duc d'Alençon had succeeded in escaping from the Court in September; and, notwithstanding the just and keen mistrust which his character inspired, the adhesion of the only brother of a childless King was a great moral support to the confederates. Now was their time for action. Thanks to the gold of Elizabeth, Condé had at last succeeded in raising a small army; but, instead of entering France with his whole force, he contented himself with detaching two or three thousand horse and sending them to Monsieur under the orders of Thoré. This feeble and ill-timed movement simply gave occasion for a serious check to the confederates, and for an easy but brilliant success to their enemies. Thoré was defeated by the Duc de Guise at Dormans; the majority of his 'reîtres' entered the service of the Catholics, and he himself was left to bring to the aid of Monsieur a mere handful of horse.

Bibliothèque impériale (Colbert, v. 399). I do not think it has ever been published, but it is well known. On reading it, one is at a loss which to admire most, the presumption of the Elector, or the naïveté with which he seems to have received the chimerical engagements of his allies.

CHAP. I.

1576 May. Fifth Edict of Peace.

Condé had at all events tenacity of purpose. Notwithstanding the check of Thoré, he succeeded in reconstructing his army, and at last crossed the frontier. But the sums which the Queen of England had advanced to him were all spent. 'I entered Germany,' he said, 'with eighty-four *écus*, I left it with a florin.' Moreover, his men, not receiving any pay, gave themselves up to excesses such as had never before been witnessed. Thus he passed through Lorraine, Bassigny, Bourgogne, and Bourbonnais, exhausting and laying waste the country, but never fighting. Mayenne, who was observing him, had too small a force to attack him, and Condé was too raw a general, or had too little influence over his undisciplined troops, to take the offensive.[1] At last, however, he attained his object, and made a junction with Monsieur, who, without striking a single blow, obtained the Fifth Edict of Peace.[2]

Fresh grievances of Condé; he is disappointed of the advantages secured to him by the Treaty.

Four years after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Protestants obtained the most favourable conditions they had ever yet enjoyed. But the free exercise of the Reformed religion was not the only concession that they forced from the King. The confederates had secured to themselves a shameful amount of indemnity, and Condé certainly had a right to his part in this pillage of the treasury and this dismemberment of the property of the Crown. The treaty guaranteed him the restitution of the government of Picardie, with Péronne as a place of security, and a bounty of five thousand livres. But he never saw the money, his authority was never acknowledged in Picardie, and the gates of Péronne were shut

[1] He felt this himself. See his letter to the Elector Palatine of April 9, 1576. (Appendix, No. VII.)

[2] May 1576.

against his troops. Alternate weakness and treachery makes up the history of the reign of Henri III. Never before had the Royal authority fallen so low in France.

Condé felt very bitterly this breach of faith. The Duc d'Alençon, loaded with favours, and already well provided for, was about to make a triumphal entry into Bourges, and wished the Prince to accompany him. 'Monsieur,' replied Condé, 'I am aware that the citizens of Bourges are ill-affected towards those of my religion, and it is not improbable that some rogue, while pretending to look in another direction, might aim at my head. The rogue would be doubtless hanged, but at the same time the Prince de Condé would be dead. I beg, Monsieur, that I may not be the cause of that rogue being hanged out of love to me.' And he proceeded to join the King of Navarre in Guyenne.

Distrust of Navarre by the Protestants; their sympathy with Condé.

Although the latter had been away from Court already three months, he had taken no part in a war which had neither fighting nor glory; he had taken but little in negotiations which were without sincerity. As he had never professed Protestantism, and had never been on good terms with the confederates, no one made any stipulation on his behalf, and his formal restoration to the government of Guyenne was the consequence merely of a general measure. He would have preferred much that neutral and independent position which was so well suited to his character and opinions, but the Rochellois insisted that he should declare himself. He had already announced to them his proposed visit, when he was given to understand that the capital of the Reformed faith could never open its gates to a Prince who had been for three months living without any religion, and around whom were to be seen

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1576 August.

'so many who had plied the knife on St. Bartholomew's Day.'[1] Henri at first hesitated. To enter once more the bosom of the Calvinist Church—this would be to break up the Catholic nobility who surrounded him, and seriously to diminish his scanty band of followers. It would also make it very difficult to re-establish his authority in Guyenne. But, if he were rebuffed by La Rochelle, he would lose for ever the support of the Protestants. Yet the attitude of certain Catholics, whose ardour could not fail to carry with it the less excited body of their coreligionists, rendered a general contest imminent and unavoidable. Where would he find himself in this event, if he did not place himself at the head of the Protestants? The Prince de Béarn was not fond of extreme courses; but he knew well how to adopt them when necessary, and, as he had no serious faith to overcome, he submitted to the public abjuration of the Catholic religion required of him, and made his entry into La Rochelle.

The evident mistrust with which he was received there contrasted strongly with the warm welcome given to Condé in the same town a few days later. The latter, it is true, had every claim on the sympathy of the Protestants. His conduct after St. Bartholomew's Day was no secret; it was well known that as soon as he was free he had hastened to return to the religion of his youth. Since then he had been seen openly negotiating and taking active measures in the cause of the Protestants; and finally, the last affront which had been offered to him proved how incorruptible he was known to be, and how unalterably attached to his religion.

[1] D'Aubigné.

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He had not a single tie to the opposite party. The Queen of Navarre was a Catholic, and lived at Court, mixed up in all its intrigues. But Condé was now a widower. On his sudden departure two years before, he had been compelled to leave behind him his wife, who was then some months advanced in pregnancy. The result proved fatal to Marie de Clèves. She died on the thirteenth of October, 1574, in giving birth to a daughter,[1] the sole heiress of her great wealth. However scanty the reliance we can place in an elegy written by Desportes, it is certain that this first and brief marriage of Condé had been an unhappy one. Even if Marie de Clèves had resisted the overtures of Henri III., she nevertheless had been far from insensible to his adoration; indeed, it appears as if she had not been indisposed to a divorce on the plea of her husband's return to heresy. The King had never faltered in his devotion to her. At Warsaw his principal consolation had been to write to her with his blood; on his return thence, when he heard of her death, he exhibited the deepest grief, which displayed itself, like all his passions, in the most childish manner. He wore, in token of mourning, death's-heads attached to his aiguillettes; and the Cardinal de Bourbon was compelled to have the body of the Princess exhumed and removed from Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the King refusing to enter the Abbey as long as these precious remains were there.

1574 Marie de Clèves dies while her husband is away.

We left Condé at La Rochelle.[2] He only made a short stay. In compensation for the advantages which, though guaranteed to him by the Edict of Peace, he had

1576. Condé's establishment in La Rochelle and the west.

[1] Catherine de Bourbon, Marquise d'Isles; died unmarried in 1595.

[2] August 1576.

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1576 August.

never enjoyed, he had asked the King for an establishment in Saintonge, and had received a favourable reply. Judging it prudent to see for himself that these fresh promises were carried out, he commenced by taking possession of Cognac and Saint-Jean-d'Angely, and then purchased from the Sire de Pons the important fortress of Brouage. Having established himself in this fresh acquisition, he wished to return to La Rochelle. But the Protestant party had taken umbrage; it had always been reluctant to submit to the authority of the first Condé, and since the death of that hero, it had become accustomed to act independently of princes. And so Condé, who when he arrived alone and necessitous had been received with transports of welcome, now found the gates shut against him as soon as he began to obtain the smallest degree of power. He was compelled to open negotiations, and was only allowed to enter the town on condition that his suite did not exceed seven gentlemen. La Rochelle was a little republic constituted after the manner of the ancient cities; it was necessary there to be perpetually addressing the assembled people. Like his father, Condé was a fluent and graceful speaker, and on this occasion 'he showed himself more of an orator than a soldier.'[1] By a succession of very able speeches,[2] he deeply moved the hearts of the burgesses, contrived to arouse a suspicion of treachery to the Protestant cause on the part of the mayor and the bailiffs, and then, playing the part of a gracious and peace-loving prince, dissuaded the people from their intention of bringing to trial these supposed agents of the Court. By the end of two months he was virtually master of the place, and was able, with-

[1] D'Aubigné.

[2] La Popelinière quotes several of them. Vol. ii. Book xli.

out any uneasiness, to make excursions to Saint-Jean-d'Angely and other places, still keeping La Rochelle as his head-quarters.

He becomes a pretext for the organization of the League.

All this consolidation of Protestant power in the West had been effected with much ability and courage, but did not spread beyond the places already named. Condé met with the same obstacles in Saintonge which he had encountered in Picardie. It was in order to resist him in the latter province that Jacques de Humières had organized that confederation afterwards known as the League, and as soon as he was seen in Saintonge, Louis de la Trémouille, Duc de Thouars, placed himself at the head of the nobility and the Catholic towns, who hastened to declare their adhesion to the 'Holy Union.' The anti-Protestant reaction was everywhere very strong; discontented and disgusted at the terms of the Peace, persons who had hitherto remained neutral now consented to give their names to the League, and that association, for whose action Condé had now for the second time furnished a pretext, was beginning to acquire that powerful organization which in after years rendered it so formidable. It was at the height of this movement that the elections to the States-General took place.

General excitement. The States of Blois. Official and secret negotiations.

This assembly met at Blois towards the close of the year. Its general tendencies were sufficiently clear; but the violence of the majority surpassed all anticipation, and even very sincere Catholics were alarmed. The Duc de Montpensier tried in vain to restrain their extreme tendencies; he himself detested heresy; he was looked upon—not without just cause—as cruel and fanatical, and during the fifteen years that he had been making war upon the Huguenots, he had always carried it on without mercy. But he was no friend to intrigue, perfidy, and

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useless demonstration; he had refused to take part in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and now he was labouring sincerely, yet fruitlessly, to maintain peace. He succeeded, however, so far as to procure the sending of a deputation to the King of Navarre and to the Prince de Condé. Condé refused to listen to these ambassadors, declaring 'that he did not recognise the States-General of the kingdom in an assembly packed and corrupted by the enemies of the kingdom.' The King of Navarre, as usual, was less severe. He would not consent to go to Blois, and replied in vague but courteous terms, which did not testify any great degree of Protestant fervour. Side by side with public negotiations went on secret intrigues. The obstinacy of Condé was well known, and, either because there was no hope of moving him, or because he was hated so intensely, the agents of the Court made no attempt to shake him; but they hoped better of his cousin, and they succeeded completely with others. The confederation of the previous year was completely broken up by these machinations. The Duc d'Alençon had been gained over. Damville, who in public still remained consistent, 'began to break down the gate at the postern,'[1] and conducted negotiations for reconciliation through his wife. Navarre was more firm and less mercenary; but he left it to the Catholics about him to negotiate for him. Condé was aware of this, and 'it unravelled, though it did not tear asunder, the fabric of their friendship.'[2]

Fresh war. Ill-success of Condé.

Their official relations, however, remained unimpaired. The war broke out afresh on all sides. In 1577 Condé

[1] 'Démaçonnoit la porte par derrière.'—D'Aubigné.
[2] Ibidem.

summoned to arms the Protestant nobility of Poitou and Saintonge and issued his proclamations in the name of the King of Navarre, whose Lieutenant-Général he declared himself. It was under this title that he received the oath of the soldiers, and it was also in combination with his cousin that he despatched messenger after messenger to England, to solicit the assistance of Queen Elizabeth.[1] But his military manœuvres were entirely independent, and were far from being successful. The troops which he had levied were of a very low class, consisting of men without any belief in the cause, who irritated the townspeople of La Rochelle by their irregular lives. He remained shut up in that town and looked on while Mayenne conquered the whole of the surrounding district, unable either to take the field, or to relieve a single fortress. Discussions with the turbulent citizens of La Rochelle; fruitless attempts to obtain from them money and supplies, in order to organize a fleet of vessels which, in total disregard of international rights, had been captured at the mouth of the Charente; these absorbed his whole time. The fleet remained some time at sea, but neither gained a single victory nor prevented a single disaster. It was not able even to relieve Brouage. The loss of the last-named town brought Condé to the determination of leaving La Rochelle and retiring into Guyenne, where at great risk he joined the King of Navarre. There he had a very bitter altercation with his cousin, and tried to throw upon him the responsibility of his ill-success. Nothing could have been more unjust. Rather was it from Condé that the King of Navarre had a right

[1] See (Appendix, No. VIII.) one of the letters addressed by Condé to the Earl of Sussex, June 12, 1577.

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1577

Divisions in the parties; unexpected peace.

to look for succour; for it was he who occupied the richest of the provinces and those most devoted to their cause. On the very same ground, and with identical resources, his father and the Admiral had been able to levy and maintain an army and to carry on for a long time a hotly-contested campaign.

The affairs of the confederates—who formed what was called the Counter-League—were in evil case. The west was lost to them; La Charité was taken; Damville had thrown off the mask and had openly declared himself the enemy of his former associates; Navarre maintained himself with difficulty in Saintonge; there was neither unity of command, nor concord enough, either for fighting or negotiating; the anarchy was complete; each one wanted to conduct the war according to his own ideas; each one took upon himself to negotiate on his own account, and had his own special emissaries at Court, who were urging separate and often inconsistent claims. But this endless subdivision of parties is the inevitable result of any long-continued strife, and on the other side the differences were not less numerous. And thus, confusion being at its height, the powerlessness of the Court and of the various factions brought about, in favour of the confederates, a fresh Edict of Peace.[1]

This peace was like all the others. There was the same series of promises and concessions. But after each one of these futile treaties, the disregard of engagements so often and so violently broken increased. The Edict, after being duly registered, remained a dead letter, and brought no relief to the sufferings of the people. The foreign soldiers were sent home again when possible;

[1] Sept. 17, 1577.

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1577 September.

the large armies were broken up; the gentlemen returned for a time to their business or their pleasures; but the bands still remained under arms; private attacks went on, one after another, just as during the war; the storming of towns and of châteaux, assassinations, pillage, still desolated the country. This truce, however, notwithstanding the extraordinary way in which it was carried out, altogether changed the aspect of the little Court of the King of Navarre; 'it began to bloom with gallant nobles and beautiful ladies.'[1] Marguerite had joined her husband. At Nérac nothing was to be seen but fêtes, nothing talked of but gallantries; 'and ease brought with it vices as warm weather brings serpents.'[2] Condé was seldom to be seen there. His serious temperament was ill fitted for this mode of life. Moreover, he fancied that he had cause to complain of his cousin, and was living in retirement at Saint-Jean, frequently visiting his faithful friends at La Rochelle, when a fresh grievance arose, to add to his discontent. He was anxious that Navarre should appoint him his Lieutenant-Général in Languedoc; but this honour was conferred upon the Vicomte de Turenne, and the Prince, who was already prejudiced against the latter, was deeply mortified.[3]

Coolness between the two cousins. Catherine

The coolness between the two cousins was now no secret, and Catherine, whom the King, her son, left free to intrigue as she pleased, was resolved to turn it to

[1] D'Aubigné.

[2] Ibidem.

[3] The secretaries of Sully ('Œconomies royales') assert that the Prince challenged the Vicomte to fight; but the assertion is not supported by the 'Mémoires' of Turenne, or by any other evidence. A challenge of this kind would be quite inconsistent with Condé's avowed opinions on duelling, which will appear later on.

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endeavours completely to estrange them from each other.

account. The Queen-Mother had passed several months with the King of Navarre, and her experienced eye had read clearly his inmost nature. She had found him so far from being besotted by pleasure that he was able to retaliate, blow for blow, upon all her attacks, and to counterplot in all her machinations. If she took from him La Réole by treachery, he surprised Fleurance while she thought he was at a ball. If she attempted to discuss with him the articles of the Conférence of Nérac, she encountered, under the veil of careless good nature, an acuteness equal to her own, and a determination which all her cunning was unable to disarm. She came at last to watch him with a combination of anxiety and hatred. While all the world thought him entirely absorbed in the charms of the fair Fosseuse, her eye followed him and saw him silently and patiently securing his position in Guyenne, and surrounding himself with fresh alliances on every side. Already he had won back to his side the support of Damville, the powerful governor of Languedoc, who had just become, by the death of his elder brother, Duc de Montmorency, and whom we shall henceforward designate by that title. Catherine saw that nothing further was to be done in that quarter. So she turned towards Condé, and put all her schemes to work with a view to separate him entirely from his cousin. She wrote to him offering the hand of the King's sister-in-law, Mademoiselle de Vaudemont,[1] together with a considerable establishment and the restoration of the government of Picardie. At the same time she begged him to see that the articles agreed upon at Nérac were carried out. Condé declined the marriage, 'although it would have

[1] Married to the Duc de Joyeuse in 1581.

been a very great honour to him—so great that he would not have dared to hope for it; but the ministers in synod assembled had replied to him that the diversity of religion made it impossible.' As for the articles of Nérac, he answered that he had nothing to do with them, 'the treaty having been made with the King of Navarre alone.' He hoped 'that their Majesties would restore him to his government, and he trusted to them for the care of his rightful property.' Finally, he was always ready 'to leap into the saddle in the service of their Majesties.'[1] Although the tone of these answers bore witness to the Prince's attachment to the Protestant religion, there appeared in them signs of a bitterness towards Navarre and a wish for conciliation which gave cause for some hope. He was less closely watched after this; the promises were renewed to him. Catherine felt certain that she would eventually succeed; when just at the very moment that she had received from him the most encouraging letter of all, she suddenly learned that he was in possession of La Fère. Leaving Saint-Jean-d'Angely in disguise, he had passed through Paris unperceived, and had carried the place by means of a clever stratagem.[2]

Condé surprises La Fère.

This *coup de main*, though it had been planned with secrecy and skill, and carried out with boldness, was not really a fortunate enterprise. Condé was leaving Saintonge, where he had many friends, where he could find ample resources, and establishing himself in a strongly

[1] Autograph letter to the Queen-Mother, dated Saint-Jean, November 13, 1579. ('Archives de Condé.') It must have been this letter which reached the Court simultaneously with the news of the surprise of La Fère; but it cannot be at all different in tone from those which preceded it, and which are lost. Some extracts from this letter are subjoined, as illustrative of the character of the whole transaction. (Appendix, No. IX.)

[2] Nov. 29, 1579.

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1579 November.

fortified town, it is true, but in a town isolated in the midst of a hostile district, without the means of maintaining his authority or of continuing the struggle, and cut off from communication with those provinces which sympathised with him. He doubtless thought that when once he had set foot in Picardie, he would obtain, through the weakness and powerlessness of the King, that which he could not hope to obtain through his own loyalty. It was thus that he had begun—three years before—to establish himself in Saintonge. In fact, the King seemed at first to entertain with favour the pacific assurances of Condé, and contented himself with merely blaming him—not for having seized upon a town in the province of which he was nominally governor, but for having passed through Paris without paying his respects to himself. The young Prince de Conti was charged with the communication of these favourable words to his brother, and the Queen-Mother accompanied him as far as Chauny, in the hope of being able to arrange some scheme with the latter; but she very soon found that Condé was still of the same mind and would listen to nothing.

'War of the Lovers;' Condé is thereby compelled to fly. He appeals for help to the Low Countries, to England, and to Germany; his treaty with the Elector Palatine.

This state of things lasted for some months. The Prince was left in peace to enjoy his victory; but he exercised no power outside La Fère; he was obliged to restrict his exertions to strengthening the fortifications of that town, and completing its garrison. Very soon, however, the war broke out afresh in the south; the time was come when, according to the terms of the convention, the King of Navarre had to restore the places of security which he had been allowed to hold. As he could not possibly do this without ruining his prospects, he complained that the terms of the treaty of Nérac had not been

CHAP. I.

1580 April.

carried out, and suddenly took up arms.[1] This rising was misunderstood and severely condemned, even among the Protestants, who always mistrusted the elder Bourbon; they were determined not to see in his conduct anything but an amorous intrigue, and the war ever afterwards went by the name of the 'guerre des amoureux.' La Rochelle and Languedoc refused to join the movement; La Noue blamed him, and Condé, who had had no intimation of his intentions, complained bitterly. The renewal of hostilities, which he ought to have foreseen, was ruining all his plans for establishing himself in Picardie. Without an army, without money, he could not maintain himself there. So after a fruitless attempt to obtain the assistance of Elizabeth,[2] he quitted La Fère,[3] and being either unable or unwilling to join his cousin, he crossed the frontier. On the news of his departure, the King issued a declaration against him, which was registered on the third of June, and, while Biron was entering Gascogne and Mayenne Dauphiné, a third army marched against La Fère, under the orders of Matignon.

Thus engaged in a conflict which he wished to maintain on his own account, Condé had more than ever need of foreign assistance. Resuming once more the undignified part he had already once before played, he charged himself with the business of negotiating in person with those from whom he hoped to obtain support. He first addressed himself to the insurgents in the Low Countries, who, as is well known, had been in arms for a long time. But these were just now in the midst of the most serious difficulties; the Duke of Parma's able administration had

[1] April 1580.
[2] Condé to Burleigh, April 12, 1580. (See Appendix, No. X.)
[3] May 1580.

CHAP. I. 1580

succeeded in detaching the Catholics from the Protestants, and separating Belgium from Holland. The towns and provinces which composed the Union of Utrecht had to fight at the same time against the Spaniards and the Walloons; they stood greatly in need of assistance themselves, and certainly were in no case to bestow it upon others. Condé's stay at Antwerp was therefore short, and he crossed to England, in order to renew in person the solicitations he had so often made. But with no better success; Elizabeth's whole attention was fixed on the Low Countries. The 'guerre des amoureux,' which no longer permitted her to count on the assistance of France, had put out all her calculations, and thus greatly displeased her. Condé therefore failed in getting anything. He recrossed the Channel, and hastened to John-Casimir, whom he knew to be ever ready to lend an army to the French Protestants; but experience had also taught him the price at which this Prince sold his assistance. This time, in order to secure payment, the Elector Palatine demanded, before moving a single soldier, possession of the lucrative salt springs of Languedoc, of the town of Aigues-Mortes, and of the fortress of Pecquais. Condé promised everything; and, in his impatience to satisfy his greedy ally, he departed in all haste in order personally to carry out the engagements he had just undertaken. But the ill-luck which seemed always to attend him, once more crossed his path. He was robbed by brigands as he was passing near Geneva, and compelled to save himself by flight on foot, almost naked, across the mountains; in this plight he arrived in Dauphiné at the house of Lesdiguières, who supplied him with horses and clothes to go forward into Languedoc.

CHAP. I.

1580 November.

He is compelled to accept the Peace of Fleix (November 1580); his relations with Navarre and with the extreme Protestants.

The Protestants in that province showed themselves more jealous than he had been for the national wealth and integrity of their territory; and while acknowledging him as their leader, they refused to satisfy the promises he had made to the Elector. Condé was obliged to give up the German army, and attempted to conquer for himself Cévennes and Vivarais. But the war was dying out on all sides. La Fère had capitulated; Mayenne had pacified Dauphiné, and the King of Navarre had just signed the treaty of Fleix.[1] Condé at first refused to be bound by it, and inveighed in strong terms against his cousin. His complaint found an echo. At La Rochelle and Geneva the King of Navarre had been reproached with having taken up arms upon grounds which appeared frivolous; now he was blamed no less for having laid them down too soon. On the other hand Condé received credit for having sacrificed his personal dignity, and for having preferred 'the cause' to those of France; and Navarre, writing to Beza, was obliged to justify himself for concluding peace without consulting his cousin.[2] But notwithstanding their predilections, and despite their prejudices, the Protestants, even the most extreme among them, could not cherish any illusion as to the position in which the two Princes respectively stood. Neither as a diplomatic nor as a party leader had Condé achieved any success; he had lost his fortresses; he had not brought into the field a single soldier. Navarre, on the other hand, was master of a small army, his authority was obeyed on his hereditary estates, and throughout a large portion of Guyenne; and

[1] Nov. 26, 1580.

[2] 'As for my said cousin, I have heard nothing of him since his return from England, and was uncertain of his whereabouts.' (The King of Navarre to Beza, at the close of November 1580.)

CHAP. I. 1580

the treaty of Fleix left him in possession of the towns of which the possession had been the object of the war. Condé had had only one single piece of good fortune throughout his peregrinations among Protestant Courts. On his way back from England, he reached Ghent just as the Spanish were attacking it, and had taken part in its defence, fighting 'pike in hand among the foremost.' His personal courage had been conspicuous. But at that very time the King of Navarre was giving a very different proof of his 'warlike valour.' By the capture of Cahors,[1] he had gained a position in the front rank of the best commanders of his time, and when he emerged victorious 'covered with blood and powder,'[2] from those four days of terrific struggle, during which he had foreseen and directed all the operations, he had become an object of admiration to his friends, and of terror to his enemies.[3] Henceforward he maintained the foremost place unchallenged, and Condé was not slow to discover that an open rivalry was impossible. The Vicomte de Turenne having been sent into Languedoc to see to the execution of the edict there, the Prince, after a brief interview with that nobleman, quitted the province, where he did not choose to remain while peace was declared against his will, and went to join his cousin, who received him cordially.[4]

[1] May 1580. '. . . . Surprise honorable sur toutes celles de ce siècle . . . . où la vertu et l'honneur guerrière du roi de Navarre commença à se desnouer.' (D'Aubigné.) It was at the siege of Cahors that petards were first used.

[2] '. . . . Je ne me despouilleray pas, combien que je sois tout sang et pouldre. . . .' The King of Navarre to Madame de Batz, May 31, 1580.

[3] 'In questa impresa diede grandissima meraviglia a ciascuno l' animo intrepido del rè di Navarra; che havendo nell' altre sue operazioni dato saggio di grande vivacità, in questa, con molto spavento de' nemici e grand' ammirazione de' suoi, si fece conoscere per cosi bravo e feroce combattitore.'—D avila.

[4] According to D'Aubigné, the interview took place at Cadillac, about twenty-six kilomètres to the

The estrangement had never been open; the reconciliation was never complete. During the four years of anarchic peace which followed the treaty of Fleix, the two Princes exchanged visits of courtesy, and on all important occasions, at the surprise of Mont-de-Marsan[1] as well as at the General Assembly of the Reformed Churches of France,[2] contemporary documents[3] mention Condé first among the suite of the King of Navarre. But alike from Saint-Jean-d'Angely, his usual residence, and from various towns of Languedoc, which he occasionally visited, in order, as he said, to prosecute the recovery of certain claims upon the receivers for the Crown, he kept up a correspondence with Geneva,[4] and uninterrupted relations with the ministers of La Rochelle, as well as with the most turbulent of the Reformers in the south. He con-

SE. of Bordeaux. According to Turenne ('Mémoires') it was at Montauban. The King of Navarre stayed several times at Cadillac during the months of January, February, and March, 1581 ('Comptes manuscrits de la dépense ordinaire du roi de Navarre,' quoted by M. Berger de Xivrey in the journal appended to the second volume of 'Lettres missives'). He was at Montauban in the month of May, and it appears from one of his letters (May 22) that he saw the Prince de Condé there. Further, it is stated in the 'Journal des Guerres de Castres' by Faurin ('Pièces fugitives,' published by the Marquis d'Aubais, vol. ii.):—'On the ninth of April, 1581, in the evening, Henri de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, on his way to join the King of Navarre . . . . ., reached Castres . . . .; he remained there until Wednesday the 12th, after dinner, and then left for Puilaurens . . . . .' It is therefore certain that the two Princes met several times between the middle of March and the end of May, 1581, and it is probable that Condé had before that been in Guyenne and made the first advance to the King of Navarre.

[1] November 1583.

[2] In 1584.

[3] 'Lettres missives de Henri IV,' April 1581, February 1582, November 1583. 'Memoirs of the President de Thou.' Faurin, 'Journal des Guerres de Castres.' Charbonnières, 'Journal des Guerres de Béziers.' 'Histoire de la Guerre civile du Languedoc.'

[4] The Archives of Geneva contain twenty-one original letters addressed by the Prince to the *Seigneurs* of that city, from August 2, 1574, to March 25, 1584; several of these letters were intended to solicit a visit from Beza, others are simple assurances of affection and devotion. One of them will be found in the Appendix (No. XI.).

CHAP. I. 1580–84

tinued to be their tool and their organ, and to embarrass his cousin perpetually by a deliberate policy of suspicion, and an opposition which was deaf to reasoning. The latter, however, was upon his guard; he foiled all these intrigues. His own visits to the Prince, and the frequent opportunities he took care to make for inviting him in return, while they testified to his respect for the favourite of 'the Churches,' gave him also the power of watching and of restraining his movements. By his firmness, his vigilance, and his moderation, he was able at once to defend himself against the schemes of his enemies, and to disarm the mistrust that he encountered at home. The life of Henri IV. ('for he may now be so called, since that title is so famous and so beloved, and has become a proper name'[1]), was one of perpetual conflict; he was determined to win everything, even the sympathies and support of his own party. But the special distinction of this great man above all his contemporaries lay in his marvellous facility in turning to account, as circumstances called for their exercise, his powerful and versatile abilities; by turns a soldier and a statesman, rivalling in craft the most astute, in audacity the boldest, in prudence the wisest, and ever true while yet ever shrewd; we shall find him, to use his own words, 'overcoming the children of this world by patience and by straight courses.'[2]

Situation of France, of the Bourbons, and of parties after the death of the Duc d'Anjou (1584);

Amongst the other great events which occurred at this period, there was one which, while it opened the way for the head of the House of Bourbon to a new and very exalted position, only served for the present to increase the difficulties and dangers of his situation. The Duc d'Anjou had died in 1584; Henri III. was a worn-out and

[1] Voltaire's 'Essai sur les Mœurs.' [2] 'Lettres missives.'

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1584 the King, against his own wish, takes part in the League by the Treaty of Nemours and the Edict of July (1585).

feeble invalid; the reports of the doctors and the known virtue of the Queen forbad the hope of direct heirs. The King of Navarre was the eldest of the legitimate male descendants of Hugues Capet and of Saint-Louis. But on the one hand he was a relapsed heretic; on the other, his relationship to the King was so distant that he could never have been served heir to him in any civil suit. This last objection was of small account; the stringent rules which govern decisions in private affairs cannot be made applicable to matters affecting the tranquillity and well-being of nations. The Salic law, vaguely as it was defined, was nevertheless understood and respected by all. A principle carries with it great force when it corresponds with a national instinct, and the right of the Bourbons to the succession was so universally admitted, that after some ineffectual attempts to question it, the most ambitious of their opponents were compelled to desist from attacking it. His religion was the only pretext on which Navarre could be excluded. France was, and wished to remain, Catholic; she could not submit to a Protestant King. The managers of the League understood that this very widespread and even strongly cherished feeling might some day become a powerful lever, but that in order to use it, it was very needful for them to avoid offending the national *amour-propre*; and they thought that they had succeeded in finding the means of effecting their object. Next to Navarre, the eldest of the Royal House was his uncle the Cardinal de Bourbon; the Guises acknowledged him as heir to the throne and first Prince of the Blood, under the protection of the Pope and of the King of Spain. This latter did not hesitate to promise his support by a formal treaty,[1] hoping thus to advance his ultimate aim,

[1] Treaty of Joinville, Dec. 31, 1584.

CHAP. I. 1584-85

and to facilitate a probable settlement of the sanguinary conflicts then raging. It seemed to him impossible to save the French monarchy; perhaps its final agony would not even be deferred till the death of Henri III. Philip II. felt sure of securing for himself this hotly contested succession, whether the kingdom were dismembered, or whether the Duc de Guise were able to seize the crown and to hold it as the vassal of the King of Spain. But these schemes were not yet ripe; by putting forward the Cardinal de Bourbon, he might hope to conceal them for some time longer; the feeble-minded old man, whom no one respected, was a mere phantom, and could offer no serious resistance, when it should be convenient to set him aside.

This piece of knavery, then, was a very transparent one; it deceived none but those who were determined to be deceived. Henri III. did not misunderstand it. He had been made aware for some time, both from direct evidence and from unmistakeable indications, of the peril in which he stood; he saw what was the aim of the blow to be struck; and although he affected to treat it lightly, he knew that it was levelled at 'his crown and his dignity.' His fault was not any lack of intelligence—but of energy, perseverance, and devotion. And he needed much of all these, in order to hold his own in the struggle. Still, as we have said, in every class throughout the nation, the majority were anxious to maintain at once French unity and Catholic unity, disliking the Reformation, but equally opposed to ultramontane pretensions and to Spanish ambition. If this majority, remaining cold and indifferent, was allowing itself to be easily cowed, and at times even dragged along, by the leaders of a violent and powerfully

organized faction, it was because there was no one who tried to guide it; for there was no lack of elements in its composition capable of revolting from the tyranny of the Leaguers. Amongst the crowded ranks of this body of men whose part in public affairs, while left to itself, was so inert and powerless, were found officers of State both numerous and trustworthy, almost the whole of the magistracy, whose influence over the Tiers État was so great, the leading generals, such as Biron, and Matignon, as well as others, more ambitious than they, who, bearing the most illustrious names of France, wavered between the opposite parties, passing over, now to one, now to the other, most frequently indeed consulting their private interests, but yet sometimes acting in obedience to a kind of instinct of patriotism, for the interests of the State. Thus the Duc de Nevers had entered into the League only on certain conditions; Montmorency had openly declared himself opposed to it. But until some firm and able hand should seek to unite these scattered elements, and become a rallying-point for all who were hesitating in indecision, this great party, already named the 'parti politique,' hung loosely together without a leader, and without a policy. For the present it was paralyzed by the contempt in which the King was held; while the dislike which was entertained for the religious opinions of the rightful heir to the throne seemed to deprive it of all hope for the future.

Henri III. stood in need of the assistance of the King of Navarre; he would willingly have cleared away the obstacle which kept them apart, and he made an overture with a view to bring back that Prince to the Catholic religion. But these efforts could not be successful. The change of creed on the part of the Béarnais was to be a

CHAP. I. 1585

satisfaction offered to France, the pledge of a fresh agreement between the nation and his race, and not a concession to the threats of enemies. He was not an unbeliever; still less was he a hypocrite,[1] but he was placed between two fanatical parties, and repelled by the excesses of both; so he doubted, honestly doubted, and as his religious indecision was no secret, his conversion at the time of which we are now speaking would have been ascribed to the worst motives. Had he thus recklessly and prematurely taken the great step which was destined to put an end to our long civil troubles, he would have earned nothing but ruin and dishonour. Without satisfying a single suspicion, without disarming a single prejudice, he would have separated himself from his own little army; not a soldier, not a friend would have remained at his side. He declined, therefore, to accede to the King's wishes; but the overtures that had been made to him had not remained any secret, and were, among his own party, the object of very unkindly remarks. If the Catholics had their Leaguers, the Protestants had their zealots; in the one, as in the other, of these violent minorities, there was very little thought of the welfare of the country, its unity or its independence; vague desires were united with sincere but blind convictions. There was a general expectation of an approaching revolution, and, instead of endeavouring to prevent it, the one faction dreamed of a France degraded into the vassal of the King of Spain, the other of a confederation protected by the Queen of England. On either side, under the influence of corresponding pas-

[1] See, in St. François de Sales' letters, that in which he alludes to the death of Henri IV., and the account of the siege of Montmélian in the 'Œconomies royales.'

sions and hopes, there was a determination to push matters to a crisis, and to render all attempt at reconciliation impossible. So the zealous Huguenots who grouped themselves around Condé exhibited extreme uneasiness, either affected or real, as to the result of the conferences that had taken place between the King of Navarre and the Duc d'Épernon. In order to calm them, it was necessary to desire Mornay to publish the true version of the story, and Henri III., having no other answer to make to this publication, which justified all the complaints of the Catholics, replied to it by the treaty of Nemours and by the edict of July.[1] These two acts annulled all the edicts in favour of toleration; and placed at the disposal of the League all the resources and all the forces of the monarchy.

And so religious animosities, and factions rising fiercer than ever; every guilty ambition rampant; the succession to a throne disputed before it became vacant; a King sufficiently clear-sighted to comprehend the danger, but with neither energy nor authority to avert it; the Protestants divided rather than united among themselves; the Leaguers full of audacity and zeal, openly backed up by the mightiest sovereign in Europe fencing round France on all sides; no leadership and no refuge for the faithful and disinterested servants of the Crown and of the State; but, with the greater part of them, religious scruples serving as pretexts for inactivity or extinguishing their patriotic apprehensions; the ruin of the French monarchy imminent, vaguely desired by some, and awaited by others with profound dejection; such was the situation a few months after the death of the Duc

[1] 1585.

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d'Anjou. In after days Henri IV. told Mathieu, the historian, that on hearing the news of the treaty of Nemours, he remained lost in thought some hours, with his head buried in his hands, and that when he raised it, his moustache had turned white.[1]

Measures taken by Navarre to keep up the contest; his fidelity to national interests; moderation of his language.

Nevertheless he had for some time foreseen that the King would be unable to maintain his independence face to face with the League. As early as the month of May, at the time when Henri III. seemed prepared to fight against the Lorrains, he had assembled the leading Protestants at Guitres that he might consult with them as to what line of conduct they should pursue; and there it was resolved that their troops, while serving the King's cause, should not mix themselves up with his army. Navarre had acquired the art of appearing not to suggest but to follow the course ultimately agreed upon by his subordinates, and among others by Condé, who, it is needless to say, always espoused the most extreme measures. While the Béarnais Prince, by adopting this attitude, was obliterating the divisions in the Protestant party, he was at the same time, by the concordat of Magdeburg, drawing closer the bond of unity in religion which bound him to the Queen of England and to the German Princes. He had already, by means of frequent embassies and judicious messages, paved the way for this result, but, contrary to the precedents of his party, he had not committed himself by a single promise or a single concession, with which his future subjects might hereafter upbraid him.[2] At the same time, he was uniting himself with

[1] He confided this also to La Force. See 'Mémoires,' published by M. de La Grange.

[2] It is well known that afterwards, in the most trying of his misfortunes, he risked destruction in delaying in-

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1585

Montmorency, the most powerful of the 'politiques,' and this was an earnest of his conciliating disposition; not a single word which fell from his lips or his pen would lead the moderate Catholics to despair of one day seeing him change his religion. And so, while always acting for the present, his eyes were ever fixed on the future; his heart was never overmastered by despondency, or his clear intellect beclouded by the excitement of conflict. His acts were often those of a partisan chief; but his language was ever tolerant and dignified, as became that of the future head of a great nation. When we come upon the traces of a mind so foreseeing and so magnanimous, not only in his addresses to the great bodies of the State, but in his letters to private gentlemen; when we follow in the detail of each day's doings that activity which nothing could exhaust, that presence of mind which nothing could disturb, then it is that we can understand how he was enabled to rise triumphant from a conflict so formidable and so unequal, but a conflict upon which he had entered with 'God for his Protector, and France for his judge.'[1] God did not abandon him, and the verdict of the nation was in his favour; at the end of ten years he laid down his arms, a Catholic and King of France.

Brutum fulmen. Commencement of hostilities (Sept. 1585).

In the midst of all these difficulties, the attitude of Condé was not one of the least of Navarre's anxieties. We have seen how, in order to prevent that Prince from isolating himself and carrying along with him all the distinguished Huguenots, it had been necessary to explain

definitely the arrival of assistance from England, rather than give up the harbour of Brest, when it was haughtily demanded by Elizabeth.

[1] Letter of the King of Navarre to 'Messieurs les gens tenant la cour du parlement pour le Roi à Paris,' Oct. 11, 1585.

CHAP. I.

1685

Success of Condé in Saintonge.

the mission of the Duc d'Épernon by a manifesto which had precipitated the crisis. Subsequently, however, the address with which the conference at Guitres had been managed, had carried off from the Prince, before the face of his own party, the whole credit of the resolve which had been taken at that meeting. Finally, in order to disperse the last shadow of dissension between his cousin and himself, Navarre promised to make him his heir and to bestow upon him the hand of his sister. Soon, however, there emanated from the Court of Rome an act which obliterated all differences. Sixtus V., the new Pope, who had at first appeared decidedly unfavourable to the League, and indignant at its factious tendencies, had launched against the King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé a bull of excommunication, in which the violence of his language vied with the arrogance of his pretensions. In thus insulting the Princes as 'wallowing in the mire;'[1] in declaring them to be 'degraded from their fiefs and baronies, and incapacitated from succession to the Crown of France,' the Pontiff did not deprive the Bourbons of a single friend, and did not give the slightest fresh ardour to their opponents; but he produced a powerful reaction among a portion of the clergy, among the magistracy, among all the Royalists; wounded the national sensibility, consolidated that union between the two Princes which he wished to break off, and rallied the whole of the Reformed party round their leaders.

The Protestant pamphleteers replied with no less vehemence, and gave to the Pontiff's bull that name of

[1] 'Vautrés en la bourbe' (a play upon the word 'Bourbon').

CHAP. I.

1585 September

Brutum fulmen by which it is still known. A short reply to it was posted up even in Rome itself; below the signature of the King of Navarre were the following words: 'Autant en proteste le prince de Condé.' Still the sentence launched from the Vatican had had one very decided result—it had fired the train of powder; war broke out at once. Contrary to all expectations, the Huguenots were the first to be ready. The King, in placing himself on the side of their enemies, had not been careful to conceal his repugnance for the course he took; he retarded and embarrassed the movements of the Leaguers. The Duc de Mercœur, one of the Lorrain Princes, irritated by these delays, would not wait till the other Catholic armies were on the march; sallying forth from his province of Bretagne, he crossed the Loire in order to ravage Poitou and Saintonge. Condé had been appointed to the command in these two provinces, whilst the King of Navarre was to defend Guyenne and Gascogne; Montmorency was in Languedoc, and Lesdiguiers in Dauphiné. Warned of the movements of Mercœur, the Prince assembled at Saint-Jean-d'Angely the four regiments of infantry which composed his entire force, summoned the nobility to his standard, and advanced against the Leaguers. He came upon them suddenly during the night at Fontenay, and compelled them to disperse in great disorder: Mercœur recrossed the Loire. Emboldened by success aud assisted by the Rochelois, Condé reinforced his army and commenced the siege of Brouage. This was a difficult and important enterprise; the town was well fortified, held by a strong garrison, and bravely defended by Saint-Luc. Nevertheless, the siege was progressing rapidly all the groups of

CHAP. I.

1585 October.

Catholics scattered over the province had been either defeated or destroyed; a portion of the outworks had already been captured; when Condé threw himself thoughtlessly into a disastrous enterprise.

Disastrous enterprise at Angers (October 1585). Flight of Condé to Guernsey.

He had sent across the Loire Clermont d'Amboise, one of the ablest and boldest of the Protestant officers, to make a few incursions and attempt a few surprises in Anjou and Normandie. One of Clermont's companions, named Rochemorte, succeeded in taking by surprise the citadel of Angers; but he could only bring into it sixteen men besides himself; the town remained in the hands of the Catholics, and was so well fortified that Clermont, having succeeded in raising a small body of six hundred horse, was unable to get near it, or to give any assistance to Rochemorte. This news caused great commotion in the camp of the Prince. D'Aubigné volunteered to set out at once with a thousand picked arquebusiers, with the resolve either to lose all or to throw reinforcements into the citadel. Condé consented at first, and then lost his head; his flatterers reproached him with having confided to a mere quarter-master so important an enterprise; he himself, they added, was alone capable of conducting successfully such an expedition, and he could do so without raising the siege of Brouage; for 'the highest praises that had been bestowed upon Cæsar had been deserved because he gave battle without raising a siege.'

The Prince, whose vanity was inflated by this sort of language, immediately set to work to 'plan the conquest of Anjou, after the manner of Picrocole, among his valets-de-chambre:'[1] and he resolved to go in person to rein-

[1] 'For,' adds the eye-witness (D'Aubigné), who has left us these de-

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force Rochemorte. Carried away by his vanity, he fancied himself realising the dream of his father and of the Admiral, carrying the war to the very walls of Paris, and eclipsing for ever the star of the King of Navarre. The unskilfulness with which the project was carried out was of a piece with its intrinsic absurdity. The Prince, leaving his infantry and his fleet before Brouage, set out on the eighth of October, with six hundred and fifty gendarmes, all gentlemen, and sixteen hundred mounted arquebusiers. The Loire was crossed without difficulty, and a junction effected with Clermont d'Amboise; but the departure of the expedition had been so long delayed by the time wasted in preparation, and its progress had been so retarded by constant hesitation and changes, that when it arrived under the walls of Angers on the twenty-first of October, Rochemorte had been killed, and the citadel had capitulated two days before. It was wonderful that it had held out so long as it did; D'Aubigné, had he been allowed to march, would undoubtedly have arrived in time to succour the little garrison. And now the whole of the neighbourhood was full of hostile detachments: it was the point of concentration of the various Royal armies destined to operate in the south. The Prince, notwithstanding the reinforcements which he had received, had only with him about three thousand men. He wished to try and carry Angers by storm; the assault, on two successive days, was unsuccessful; and when at length a retreat was ordered, there was so much delay in carrying it out that Joyeuse, who commanded

tails, 'among the majority of great people, a council in the dressing-room overrides all others.' See also 'Discours du Voyage d'Angers,' in the 'Mémoires de la Ligue,' vol. ii.

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the principal Catholic army, was able to reach the Loire as soon as the Prince. Scarcely had the Protestant vanguard crossed the stream when the enemy's cavalry appeared in strong force on both banks; all the boats were carried off, and the passage could not be continued. Condé had been desirous of forcing his way to Sancerre along the right bank of the Loire; but the towns on the river were all in the hands of the Catholics, the Royal columns were on the march on every side. For some days the little detachment wandered about at random, falling from one danger into another, and continually diminishing through desertion. At length, near Vendôme, some grooms brought to the Prince a horseman, who, in reply to their '*Qui vive?*' had exclaimed '*Vive le Roi!*' He turned out, to their astonishment, to be the Baron de Rosny, who was journeying in disguise to join Navarre. He disclosed to his friends the network with which they were surrounded, and through which he had himself miraculously threaded his way: Joyeuse was on their track, Mayenne was before them, Biron on their flank; they had only one hope of safety—to disperse at once, and try individually to creep through the meshes. This counsel was at once adopted. Indeed, several of the principal officers of the army, among others Rohan, had followed it without waiting either for the advice of Rosny, or for the command of Condé. The latter wished to pass as one of the servants of the Baron, who was pursuing his course towards Gascogne; but Rosny declined such a responsibility. The Prince, thus left with only nine gentlemen, was fortunate enough to reach Saint-Malo, and there embarked for Guernsey. And what is still more remarkable, almost the whole of his troop escaped

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in a similar manner; they lost only horses and baggage. But the west was left undefended, Brouage remained in the hands of the Catholics, and that splendid nucleus of an army, which might have established itself strongly in Saintonge and in Aunis, reinforced the King of Navarre, or taken those who were marching against him in flank, was broken up without a battle.

From Guernsey Condé hoped to cross to England, in order to beg assistance from Elizabeth;[1] but that Queen, 'who of her own nature would have dealt out her favours towards the unhappy Prince according to her pity and her piety, was compelled to regulate them by the measure of her council and of her own interests;'[2] which means that the Prince obtained nothing from her. He was in deep depression, being, so to speak, blockaded in the little island for lack of means, when he beheld the arrival of two ships fitted out with all he needed, which had come in search of him. This unexpected succour had been sent to him from La Rochelle, by a young and noble lady, scarcely yet seventeen years old—Charlotte de la Trémouille.[3]

Condé's return to Saintonge. His marriage with

This young lady was the daughter of one of the first and most ardent of the Leaguers, and one of Condé's violent enemies, the Duc de Thouars. But that nobleman

[1] Condé to Burleigh, Guernsey, Nov. 20, 1585. (British Museum, Cotton.)

[2] D'Aubigné. That historian gives us to understand, albeit somewhat obscurely, that Condé actually went to England. But we have preferred to follow the authority of a gentleman of the Prince's suite, the Sieur de Fiefbrun, who saw him disembark at La Rochelle, and who gives an account of his marriage in his preamble to the 'Véritable discours de la naissance et de la vie de Monseigneur le prince de Condé (Henri II).' This work, a MS. of which is in our possession, has been published, since this note was written, by M. Halphen, who has prefixed to it a valuable introduction, and has added an appendix of curious documents. (Paris: Aubry, 1861.)

[3] She was born in 1568.

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1586 Charlotte de la Trémouille (March 1586).

had died some ten years previously, and Charlotte de la Trémouille lived with her mother in the important fortress of Taillebourg. She was beautiful and romantic; her family illustrious and influential.

Very shortly before the last renewal of hostilities, Condé, although of the opposite party and of a different faith, had gone to Taillebourg on a visit; he arrived without any escort, with a confidence which touched the heart of the young châtelaine, and displayed more gallantry than was his wont. In short, he made a favourable impression, and was himself charmed; and no longer heeding the vague matrimonial hopes held out to him by the King of Navarre, he offered his hand and was accepted. Hostilities were renewed; Condé's place was at the head of the troops. After the disaster of Angers, the dowager Duchesse de Thouars, having become alarmed, wished to withdraw her sanction; but Charlotte remained firm; the difficulties fired her imagination, and when her mother was about to open the gates to the Royal army, the daughter, with a coolness and determination which won general admiration, introduced the Reformers. After this act of devotion to the cause of her betrothed, she went to La Rochelle, and at her own cost equipped the vessels which she despatched to Guernsey. The Prince returned, in the month of January 1586, full of gratitude, and two months afterwards, on the sixteenth of March, the marriage was celebrated. The new Princesse de Condé became a Protestant, as did also her brother, the young Duc de Thouars. Thanks to this important alliance, Condé was enabled to reorganize his small army, and renewed the campaign with considerable success.

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The extreme factions are equally dissatisfied with the King and the King of Navarre.

The Protestants had not yet been seriously beaten anywhere; the Catholic generals had gained no advantage by the rout at Angers; the King of Navarre, Montmorency, and Lesdiguières maintained their ground successfully. Moreover, the Leaguers complained bitterly of the King and the men whom he employed. If we are to believe them, if Biron had advanced with the troops which he commanded in Poitou, he would have arrested the progress of Condé in Saintonge; and on another side the Maréchal de Matignon, who had á secret understanding with Navarre, had purposely paralysed the efforts of the Duc de Mayenne, so effectually that the latter had been obliged to quit the army, sick and disgusted, without having been able to accomplish anything, and that the Béarnais Prince, relieved of all anxiety as to his hereditary estates, had been able to come to La Rochelle to join Condé in May. The Protestants, on the other hand, did not at all approve of the conduct of the King of Navarre; they reproached him with 'playing a new rôle, speaking of nothing now but the safety of the State, and thrusting Huguenot passions into the background.'[1] We at least cannot blame him for this; but we may be allowed to regret the uncharitable spirit that was exhibited in the little Court of Nérac at the news of the disaster of Angers. It was a contention who should laugh at it the loudest. Navarre, less distressed at the check sustained by the Protestants than satisfied at having seen the pride of his cousin abased, had given rein to his power of sarcasm, and had been the first to give the signal for the jests. Condé, justly irritated at these pleasantries, had declined to comply with the summons of Navarre,[2] who had

[1] D'Aubigné.

[2] Letter from the King of Navarre

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convoked at Bergerac an assembly of the Churches. But Navarre, always vigilant, and eager to prevent the disputes that were for ever arising afresh in his party, took the first opportunity afforded by a cessation of the enemy's operations in Guyenne, to repair to La Rochelle, as we have said, and there to take the direction of the war in person.

1586 August.

Armistice; fruitless negotiations.

The presence of the Head of the House of Bourbon gave too much importance to what was going on in Saintonge for the inaction of Biron to be longer tolerated. This was at least the opinion of the leaders of the League. They had not even waited till now in order to upbraid that general with his coldness; but their dissatisfaction changed to indignation when they beheld him desist, after a few trifling enterprises, and conclude an armistice in the month of August 1586. The year was spent in negotiations which could lead to nothing. The Court had despatched first the Duc de Nevers, who, without having obtained anything from the King of Navarre, was struck with the calmness of his spirit and the moderation of his language.[1] The Béarnais Prince took higher ground with the Queen-Mother when he met her at Saint-Bris. In vain did Catherine put in practice all the artifices of her nature; in vain had she come attended by the most captivating of her maids of honour. She was unable either to seduce Navarre, or to embroil him in a dispute with his subordinates. Condé, who accompanied his cousin, and whom the Queen had wished to see by himself, hoping thus to increase the family

to the Prince de Condé, somewhere about March 10, 1586.

[1] See, in the 'Mémoires' of Nevers, the very striking and curious account of that interview.

disagreements, was particularly intractable. When Catherine joked him about having his cuirass below his coat, he replied, 'Even a cuirass and a breastpiece are not sufficient defence against those who have falsified the King's edict; and moreover, as our goods are put up to auction, we have nothing left but our arms, and we have taken to them to defend our doomed heads.'

Formation of three new Royal armies; hopes of Henri III.

All the expedients to which, in his indecision, Henri III. had recourse, only increased the difficulties of his position. After the conferences at Saint-Bris, having lost all hope of coming to an understanding with Navarre, he was compelled to give to the Leaguers fresh pledges of the sincerity of his adherence to their cause. The King, pretending that the negotiations had no other purpose than to cajole the Huguenots, reiterated of his own accord, on the Festival of the Holy Spirit, the oath that he would recognise only one religion in his dominions, and ostentatiously gave the necessary orders for the formation of three armies;—that of Champagne, under the Duc de Guise, was opposed to the troops which the Protestant German Princes, excited by the aged Beza, had just sent over, and which were daily expected in Lorraine; the Duc de Joyeuse was sent to Poitou with six thousand infantry and two thousand horse; finally, the King was to remain on the Loire with a reserve force. It was not without some misgivings that Henri III. had taken these steps. He had been for some time aware of the ambition of the Duc de Guise, and the daily increasing audacity of the Lorrain faction left him in no doubt of the imminent peril which threatened him from that quarter. There was not much to fear from Joyeuse; but he was not to be depended upon; for this young

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nobleman, although he had long been one of the King's 'mignons,' and had recently married the Queen's sister, was now dreaming of success in other fields, and not finding sufficient satisfaction for his ambition in the favour of his feeble master, was attaching himself gradually to the Leaguers. The King was aware of this, and, as well in order to keep a watch over him as to guide his inexperience, he appointed Lavardin as his maréchal-de-camp. This was a brave soldier, without convictions of any sort, who had for some time followed the fortunes of the Béarnais Prince, and who had no ties to the Lorrains. His instructions were to avoid any general engagement, and to harass without crushing the King of Navarre. Henri III. was thus enabled to hope that the two armies which were about to meet each other in Poitou would merely paralyse each other's efforts. As for the Duc de Guise, it seemed highly improbable that he would be able by himself to muster sufficient force to overwhelm the eighteen thousand men who were assembling under Strasbourg. The King, placed in the centre, with the pick of the troops, would have found himself master of the situation. It was Henri III.'s favourite dream to make his enemies thus destroy one another. He was to be seen pacing up and down the Louvre, with long strides, continually repeating the words 'De inimicis vindicabo inimicos meos.' But he had to do with rough jousters, and, in order to cope with them, he ought to have put down his cup and ball, his little dogs, and the other trifling or shameful pleasures which absorbed still the time and attention of the King.

The direction given at first to the operations of Joyeuse makes it evident that his lieutenant and adviser

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Lavardin had quite understood the part that he was to play. On the approach of the Royal army, the two Bourbons, who, since the beginning of the year, had obtained some advantages and taken some of the towns in Poitou, had withdrawn,—Navarre to La Rochelle, and Condé to Saint-Jean-d'Angely.[1] But Joyeuse, notwithstanding the preponderance of his force, confined himself to taking a few detachments and a few insignificant towns on the banks of the Sèvre. At the end of three months, he had not achieved a single important success, and had distinguished himself only by atrocious cruelties; his army, inactive and discouraged, had been decimated by sickness; he himself, leaving the command to Lavardin, was posting to Paris at the end of August in order to solicit fresh orders and obtain reinforcements.

Operations of Joyeuse in Poitou. He quits his army (August 1587). Navarre and Condé recommence the campaign.

The two Princes, on the other hand, had recommenced the campaign; the Protestants of Poitou and Saintonge had flocked to their standard. Turenne brought to them the flower of the noblesse of Gascogne and Périgord. Leaving Lavardin to entrench himself at La Haye, on the Creuse, there to await the return of his general, the King of Navarre assembled his whole force, and marched rapidly towards the Loire, in order to effect an object which he had been long pursuing—the gathering around his person of nearly all the Princes of his house.

Since the death of their father, the younger sons of the last Prince de Condé had lived at Court, or with their uncle the Cardinal, as we before stated. Brought up in the Catholic religion, they had never had any communication with their eldest brother; but the King of Navarre, more able than his cousin, and not hampered,

Navarre marches towards the Loire to join his cousin the Comte de Soissons; the Prince de Conti goes to

[1] June 1587.

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like him, by religious prejudices, continued to place himself in communication with these young men.

meet the German army.

The Comte de Soissons had recently obtained from him a passport, that he might go and arrange some private affairs which demanded his presence in Guyenne. Navarre met him on this journey; he saw in him ambition, intelligence, and an utter weariness of the life he was leading. A few words of encouragement were sufficient; the Comte de Soissons espoused the cause that seemed traditional in his family. On his return to Paris, he induced the Prince de Conti, who was his senior in age, but was of feeble intellect, and afflicted with an impediment in his speech, to adopt the same course. Shortly afterwards, Conti gave out that he was sick, and retired to Le Lude (on the Loire), in order to recruit his health; his brother requested permission to visit him there, and obtained it from Henri III., who, it is said, was aware of their design and approved it. Navarre, forewarned, approached the Loire; he attached great importance to the success of this enterprise; to have in his army Princes of the Blood who were Catholics, was to show to the world that the cause for which he was fighting was not merely that of a religious sect, but in reality that of the Royal House and in a certain sense of the French monarchy. On his arrival at Montsoreau, he detached Turenne with the light cavalry; and Turenne soon returned, bringing with him the Comte de Soissons, as well as a large body of the Protestant gentlemen of Normandie and Beauce who had joined him. As for the Prince de Conti, he set off in disguise for Strasbourg, where he was to put himself at the head of the foreign army. Condé had solicited this, the most important

command of all after that of Poitou; but the King of Navarre replied to him that he could not do without his right arm, whether because he was afraid of some of his independent vagaries, or because he wished to humour the susceptibility of the German generals by giving them a merely nominal chief; for the Prince de Conti could not be more than this.

Joyeuse, reinforced, marches towards Libourne, where Matignon awaits him.

Scarcely had the King of Navarre left the Loire before Joyeuse rejoined his troops; he arrived in high spirits in consequence of the warm reception with which he had been greeted by the Leaguers of Paris, and brought with him the order to give battle. A few reinforcements had recruited the losses in the strength of his army occasioned by sickness and by the petty fighting of the last few months. He had seven guns, four regiments of infantry, twenty-four companies of gendarmes, six troops of French light cavalry, and two of Albanians,—in all six thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. A despatch from the Maréchal de Matignon, commanding in Guyenne, pointed out what he might undertake.

Matignon was aware that the King of Navarre had appointed a rendezvous in Gascogne, and that he intended to converge all his troops there, to reinforce himself, and then to march up towards Le Berry to effect a junction with the foreign army. He advised Joyeuse to descend towards the Dordogne, offering to await him on the banks of that stream with four thousand picked men: the two, when united, could easily arrest the advance of the Béarnais Prince. Joyeuse accepted the post, promised the Maréchal that he would be at Libourne between the twentieth and the twenty-fifth of October, and started to join him by Poitiers, Ruffec, and Barbezieux.

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After having reinforced his army, Navarre marches parallel with Joyeuse, and gets before him to Coutras (Oct. 19). They resolve to give battle.

The instructions furnished by Matignon were precise. Navarre was at La Rochelle, engaged in superintending the equipment of the two pieces which constituted the whole of his artillery, and in preparing everything in order to effect a junction with the Germans. At one time, during his recent sojourn at Montsoreau, he had projected a march along the right bank of the Loire to meet his allies; but, being uncertain as to their movements, and impressed with the difficulties of every kind which were presented by such a course, he had abandoned the idea and adopted that which Matignon had anticipated. The movements of Joyeuse decided him to press on its execution; as soon as he discovered the Royalist line of march, he sent his small artillery to his army which was posted near the Charente and was commanded by the Vicomte de Turenne in his absence; he himself joined it shortly afterwards at Pons, and led it towards Monlieu. Condé had already hastened from Saint-Jean-d'Angely, fearing lest Turenne might be intent upon giving battle by himself, and wishing to take from the King of Navarre that of which the Vicomte wished to deprive him. But the third party was warned in time of the wishes of the first two,[1] and when, shortly afterwards, he appointed Turenne, at his own request, to act the part of 'sergent de bataille,'[2] he added with emphasis —'But under my own eye.'

The two armies marched side by side for some days. Joyeuse, bent on barring the road to Gascogne, and approaching Matignon, crossed the Dronne near Châlais, and descended the left bank of that river. On the

[1] D'Aubigné.

[2] The 'sergent de bataille' was somewhat analogous to the modern chief of the staff.

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nineteenth of October, while, according to his wont, he halted at La Roche-Châlais for a sumptuous repast, he sent forward Lavardin with the light cavalry to seize the position of Coutras, situated at the junction of the Isle and the Dronne.

But, likewise according to *his* wont, the Béarnais Prince was in the saddle, while his enemy was at table. He had forestalled Joyeuse, and Lavardin, upon approaching Coutras, found the town occupied by the advanced-guard of the Protestants, and had only just time to fall back upon La Roche-Châlais.

The King of Navarre, being now in possession of Coutras, commanding the passage both of the Dronne and the Isle, had only to continue his march in order to cross the Dordogne above Libourne, where Matignon was posted. But, as he was so close to Joyeuse, he might expect to be attacked by the latter while crossing the rivers; and, had he been thus retarded, he would have found himself exposed to a simultaneous attack in front from Matignon. It was therefore the right course, according to the rules of war, to encounter Joyeuse before the junction of the two Catholic armies could be effected. Still the majority of the Protestant leaders hesitated. They thought it rash to fight, with the rivers in their rear, and with the knowledge that Matignon was posted a few leagues behind them; moreover, fortune, which had smiled upon them more than once in running fights, had uniformly been against them in pitched battles. The King of Navarre, however, was not to be dissuaded from the project he had resolved upon; the superiority of his judgment, the firmness of his mind and character, gave to his wishes a preponderance over all;

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and it was decided to offer battle on the morrow, whether it should be necessary, if the enemy should continue his march, to await his attack near Coutras, or, in the event of the enemy remaining stationary, to make an advance upon his present position. The King at once pushed forward his light cavalry about a league and a half to the front, to the village of Pointures, supporting it with eighty 'salades' posted about halfway between them and the main body. During the night the whole of his troops entered Coutras, except the artillery and three regiments of infantry, which remained on the right bank of the Dronne, with orders to cross that stream at daybreak.

In the night Joyeuse, with seven thousand men, marches on Coutras. The Protestant army, five thousand five hundred strong, takes up a favourable position.

By the exercise of a little energy, during the daytime, on the nineteenth, the Duc de Joyeuse might have occupied Coutras before the Protestants. But as soon as he learned, on the return of Lavardin, that he had been forestalled, his indolence was succeeded by feverish impatience. Instead of giving his troops the repose that they required, he wished to march at once, and beat the assembly at eleven o'clock at night. The march was so badly organized that he took several hours to accomplish the distance of three leagues and a half—which divided him from Les Pointures; and the advanced-guard of the Protestants was able first to repulse the head of his column and then to fall back leisurely, still fighting.

Long before sunrise, the King of Navarre, accompanied by Condé and his principal officers, was on the road to La Roche-Châlais. Soon the sound of musketry apprised him that his vanguard was under fire, and the earliest light of morning enabled him to see them falling

back in good order, and but feebly pursued. Farther on he descried the long file of the Catholic army, on its march in a single column upon Coutras. CHAP. I. 1587 Oct. 20.

The Protestant troops were already issuing from the town, and the Vicomte de Turenne, in the execution of his office, was marshalling them in order of battle. But the King, finding the position chosen a bad one, feebly protected on the flanks, and divided by a road which was bordered with bushes, selected for himself a position nearer the town; and when it was suggested to him that in retreating in order to take possession of it, the army would necessarily expose its flank to the enemy, he replied, very sensibly, that there was no need to apprehend a charge from an army arriving in single column, by a narrow and muddy road, after a long night-march and a pretty severe skirmish. He withdrew his troops therefore to this new position: the ground was well selected and of an extent adequate to the number of troops engaged; the order of battle was not less wisely adapted to the ground.

Coutras is protected, on the north, by the left bank of the river Dronne; the houses line the road from La Roche-Châlais to Libourne, which follows the windings of the stream. The town forms thus, as it were, a circular street, which terminates towards the west at the junction of the Dronne and the Isle. On the north-east flows a rivulet named the Pallard, a tributary of the Dronne; a small wood, which reached as far as the east houses of the town, bordered this stream. On the south-east towered a fine château, built by Lautrec, the park of which, stretching out into the plain, was bounded by a warren and by a thick coppice, recently cut and trimmed for

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sporting purposes. Between this park and the Pallard, a small rising ground formed a slight curve of about six hundred mètres in extent; in front stretched the plain covered with ploughed fields and patches of brushwood, intersected by roads, but without any defensive posts.

On this undulating ground, of which the convex side was towards the plain, the King of Navarre deployed his army, about five thousand five hundred strong. Almost all the infantry was on the extreme right, in the warren and in the woods belonging to the château. Next to the infantry was La Trémouille's light cavalry—about two hundred in number; then came Turenne's Gascon horsemen, about two hundred and twenty to two hundred and fifty. The gendarmerie was divided into three squadrons, commanded by the three Bourbons: that of the King, who was in the centre, on the top of the hill, and that of the Prince de Condé, placed on his right, each three hundred strong, were formed in six ranks; the squadron of the Comte de Soissons—two hundred horse—was protected by the last houses of the town, and covered on their left flank by two hundred arquebusiers hidden in the brushwood on the banks of the Pallard. The two guns which Clermont d'Amboise and Rosny brought up were posted on the centre, near the Royal squadron. As the three infantry regiments which had protected the artillery during the night came up, they took up their positions in succession behind the right, which thus amounted to three thousand eight hundred or four thousand infantry. Lastly, one hundred and fifty picked arquebusiers were posted, in squares of twenty-five each, between the several troops of cavalry, or, as they were then called, 'aux estriers des escadrons.' This last

'arrangement, an entirely novel one, and one which it would perhaps not be prudent in all cases to imitate, had upon this occasion a very fortunate result.

1587. Oct. 20. Battle of Coutras.

These various positions were taken up silently and accurately. The whole of the movements were completed before the Catholic army had formed its line of battle—which was not effected without much confusion. The light cavalry, consisting of four hundred horse, led by Lavardin, were the first to get into line, and faced the Protestant right. They had on their left the 'Picardie' and 'Tiercelin' regiments of infantry, two thousand eight hundred strong, and on their right five hundred gendarmes commanded by Montigny. The white cornet of the Duc de Joyeuse was followed by nearly twelve hundred 'lances;' it was the most splendid squadron that could be conceived. It was just beginning to deploy, and was making way for the rear-guard—about two thousand five hundred men—which was to be posted on its right, when the Protestant artillery opened fire. This was about eight o'clock in the morning.

Cannonade unimportant. Success of the Royal vanguard.

The Catholic gunners were anxious to reply; they imagined that their seven pieces would soon silence the two cannons of the enemy. But they were badly placed, and when at length they opened, their fire had no result except killing the horse of one of Condé's pages. On the other hand the Protestant balls ploughed through the ranks of the enemy's cavalry, and swept down whole files of the Picardie regiment; so that Lavardin hastened to the Duc de Joyeuse and exclaimed, 'Monsieur, we are losing the game by delay; we must play.' 'Monsieur le Maréchal is right,' replied the Duke. Lavardin returned immediately to his post, and led his two left squadrons to

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the charge. La Trémouille first, and then Turenne gave way; the light cavalry of the Catholics pushed on to Coutras. Their infantry were less successful; Picardie and Tiercelin endeavoured to carry the warren in which the Protestant infantry were posted; but although Picardie[1] displayed its wonted valour in the attack, both these regiments were repulsed with loss. At the same time, the cavalry, beaten by Lavardin, turned aside and reformed behind Condé's squadron. The Catholic light horse—especially the Albanians, finding in the town the baggage of the Reformers, gave themselves eagerly up to pillage, and refused to return to the fight.

Thus this first charge of the Royalists had opened a breach in the Protestant line, but did not succeed in dislodging their right or inflicting any severe losses upon them; while on the other hand the victorious squadrons were as good as lost to their army. Nevertheless this success, more apparent than real, seemed to be the prelude to a complete victory. A few Protestant horsemen crossed the Dronne, and hastened to carry into Gascogne the news of their defeat. From the whole of the Catholic ranks there arose a shout of triumph. Condé, seeing the squadron on his right routed, was about to bear down upon those who had charged it; but a veteran captain, named Des Ageaux, who was near him, seized his bridle and exclaimed, 'That is not your prey,—here it comes!' And he pointed to the great squadron of Joyeuse, which was just beginning to move.

Navarre harangues his troops; he reinforces his left.

At this critical moment, the King of Navarre summoned to his side his cousins and his chief officers, and then, in his manly and sonorous voice, thus harangued

[1] See note, vol. i. p. 166.

his gendarmes :—'My friends, behold a quarry very different from the prey to which you have been accustomed! It is a bridegroom who has still in his trunks his marriage portion; all the pick of the courtiers is with him. Will you allow yourselves to be beaten by this fine dancer and these minions of the Court? No! They are ours!' he exclaimed. 'I am sure of it from your eagerness to fight. Still we ought all to believe that the issue is in the hand of God. Let us call upon Him to aid us. This deed will be the greatest we have yet done; the glory will be for God, the profit for the King our Sovereign Lord, the honour for ourselves, and the safety for the State.' Henri uncovered. The ministers Chandieu and Damours intoned 'the prayer of the army,' and the soldiers repeated in unison the twelfth verse of the hundred and eighteenth Psalm :— CHAP. I. 1587 Oct. 20.

La voicy l'heureuse journée
Que Dieu a faicte à plein désir.[1]

As each was hastening to his post, the King stopped his cousins. 'Gentlemen,' he cried, 'I have only one thing to say to you,—remember that you are of the House of Bourbon. So help me God! I will show you that I am its Head!' 'And we will show you that we are good cadets,' replied Condé.

The real battle was now to begin. Before attacking, Navarre took in at a glance the whole field. Observing that the Catholic rear-guard was already in line and was threatening his left, he immediately reinforced that wing with three hundred arquebusiers withdrawn from the right, and, as his army presented a convex curve to the

[1] 'This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it.'—Ps. cxviii. 24. English Auth. Version.

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enemy, this movement was executed behind his line of battle, rapidly, and unperceived by the enemy.

Decisive engagement in the centre; rout of the Royal army.

The gendarmerie of Joyeuse formed two long 'hayes.' He was in the centre, followed by his cornet, and surrounded by a group of noblemen, all armed with lances, and magnificently equipped. The Duke gave the signal, and, although still a long way off from the enemy, his troop set off at full and steady gallop. When they came within a good distance of the Protestants, they sustained first a murderous fire from the 'arquebusiers de l'estrier,' and immediately upon that the charge of the cavalry—and a terrible charge it was. By the King's orders, his three squadrons had advanced at a walk, then at a trot; at last, the word being given '*À toute bride!*' they dashed into the Catholic lines at the full speed of their horses. The enemy's horses, on the other hand, breathless and slackening as they mounted the hill, had lost all their *élan*; the lances too were of scarcely any use. The length of the charge had broken the ranks; and the confusion was soon complete. Nevertheless the Catholic gentlemen fought with courage; the King of Navarre was exposed to the greatest dangers; his arms and those of both his cousins were, in a short time, completely battered by blows. But in the *mêlée*, the Protestants, formed in compact bodies, and armed with pistols and swords, had every advantage of their adversaries, who were scattered loosely about the field, encumbered by their lances, and still more by the silk pennons which surmounted them. So that after a short fight, upwards of four hundred gentlemen of the Royal army, and among them the Duc de Joyeuse and his brother, were left on the field. The remainder were in flight.

On the left the success of the Protestants was equally decisive. The detachment, so happily sent by the King of Navarre, had arrived just in time to take the offensive; their boldness had made up for the paucity of their numbers, and the Catholic rear-guard, surprised by a vigorous charge, had just been broken. The victorious cavalry of the Protestants, spreading itself out at once in the plain, made great havoc among the enemy's infantry. The Picardie regiment, which, in the former part of the campaign, had been the chief instrument of Joyeuse's cruelties, was almost utterly annihilated.

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Encounter between Condé and Saint-Luc.

Towards the close of the day, during the pursuit, one of the most gallant soldiers of the Royal army, D'Espinay Saint-Luc, feeling that his horse was unable to carry him out of the affair, and not willing to surrender without some signal act of valour, perceived the Prince de Condé alone in the middle of the plain, and, putting his lance in rest, charged upon him with such violence, that the Prince and his horse together fell to the ground. Saint-Luc immediately leaped from his saddle, raised the Prince from the ground, and tendered to him his gauntlet, with these words:—'Monseigneur, Saint-Luc surrenders to you; refuse him not.' Condé, bruised as he was, embraced and pardoned him—an act all the more generous, because Saint-Luc, who had been at one time a favourite of Henri III., but had since become an ardent Leaguer, and had been commanding in Brouage, had in the course of the previous year, given much trouble to the Prince in Saintonge.

Condé was conveyed back to the Royal quarters. Then was enacted a scene similar to that which took place after the battle of Jarnac. The body of Joyeuse

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was lying extended on a table, in the very apartment in which the supper of his conqueror had been prepared; but Navarre, unlike the Duc d'Anjou, ordered all who were in the room to quit it, caused his table to be removed elsewhere, and respectfully tendered to the Vicomte de Turenne, his near relative, the remains of his conquered foe. Henri rejoiced modestly and very simply over his brilliant victory. Although the civil war had now been raging for twenty-five years, he was the first Protestant general who had gained any pitched battle; he had only to deplore the loss of twenty-five men; the enemy had lost upwards of three thousand, and had left in his hands their artillery as well as twenty-nine standards or ensigns. The victory was all the more glorious inasmuch as it was won over an army superior in numbers and almost equal in quality. It was due to the valour of the King, to his decision, his vigilance, his quick eye, his intelligent tactics, and to that instinctive power of originating which he displayed alike in politics and in war, and which was destined to cover him with such glory in the splendid defensive battles of Arques, on the day of Ivry, as well as on so many other occasions. The rare military ability of Henri IV. is too little known: the brilliant and attractive side of his fine character has always been exposed to view; the twofold character of his genius has been often overlooked. We all know the man of gallantry and of wit, the valiant soldier, the bold partisan chief; but it is the able general, the large-minded administrator, the great King, who deserves the gratitude of his country and the admiration of posterity.

Dispersion of the army.

The operations which followed the battle of Coutras were not, however, commensurate with the importance of

the success which had just been obtained. After the complete destruction of Joyeuse's army, the victor ought to have left nothing undone towards either joining the foreign troops or acting in concert with them. But in the intoxication of their delight, the Protestant volunteers were eager to go and receive the congratulations of their families, and to carry home with them their share of the booty. Moreover, almost all the baggage had been lost; four hundred horse had been killed; it was absolutely necessary to procure fresh equipments, and the officers and soldiers loudly called for the disbanding of the army. Navarre yielded to their wishes; but the haste with which he went in person to present to the beautiful Corisande the standards captured at Coutras, gave rise, not without reason, to the supposition that a less serious motive had influenced him in coming to this decision.

Condé's designs; he falls sick, and retires to Saint-Jean-d'Angely; his death (March 5, 1588).

Condé had in vain insisted upon the advisability of continuing the operations; always under the dominion of his personal prepossessions, stimulated by La Trémouille, bent upon consolidating his establishment in the west, and on rendering himself almost independent there, he advised a march on Saumur, which would not have afforded any assistance to the 'reîtres.' After the disbanding of the army, when charged with the duty of leading the contingents of Poitou and Saintonge, he endeavoured to carry out this scheme upon his own account; but his troop began to disperse. He himself, moreover, was ill; since the lance-thrust which Saint-Luc had given him, he had complained of frequent pains in the side; he now grew worse. At Saintes he was struck by fever, and was obliged to stay there for some time. At last, in the

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beginning of 1588, he was able to proceed as far as Saint-Jean-d'Angely, his usual residence, where his wife, the Princess, was expecting him. Shortly afterwards the pains in the stomach returned in a complicated form. Imprudent, and passionately devoted to athletic exercises, he no sooner began to feel somewhat better, than he insisted upon resuming the saddle. On the third of March he rode at the ring for several hours on a restive horse, which reared several times with him. But let us describe the scene in the words of Henri IV.[1]:—

'On Thursday, after having tilted at the ring, he supped in good health. At midnight he was seized with a violent fit of vomiting, which lasted till morning. On Friday he remained all day in bed. In the evening he supped, and after a good night's rest, he rose on Saturday morning, sat up for dinner, and afterwards played a game at chess. He rose from his chair, and walked up and down his chamber, chatting with those around him. Quite suddenly he cried out, "Hand me my chair; I feel extremely weak." Scarcely was he seated before he lost the power of speech, and immediately afterwards expired.[2] The effects of poison speedily became evident.'

Suspicions of poison; the page Belcastel and the 'comptroller' Brillaud; prosecution of the Princess, who remains seven years in confinement.

This letter is dated the tenth of March. Next day the King of Navarre quitted Nérac for Saint-Jean, in order to pay a visit of condolence to his cousin's widow, and 'to look after the circumstances of this death.'[3] On his way he received fresh information; the doctors were convinced that there had been poison; all the Prince's household had been arrested; two of them had disappeared. These were a page sixteen years old, named Belcastel,

[1] Letter to Corisande, March 10.
[2] March 5, 1588.
[3] Letter to M. de Scorbiac of March 11.

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and a valet of the name of Corbais. Both were in the service of the Princess. No traces of them were to be found; but it was known that they had fled on horses which had been several days before placed in one of the inns of the town, by a person named Brillaud. This Brillaud was a retired lawyer from Bordeaux, whom the Princess had introduced into the house as comptroller, and who had the management of everything in it. But when put to the torture he made several important revelations which implicated his master's widow. Public opinion also was against her. Navarre believed her guilty: 'Remember,' writes he to Corisande, on the thirteenth of March, 'what I told you long ago; I am generally right in my suspicions; a bad woman is a dangerous animal.' [1]

Commissaries were appointed to draw up the indictment. Belcastel was executed in effigy; Brillaud was also found guilty, convicted of several previous crimes, and executed. The Princess was arrested; and although the Parliament of Paris had claimed the right to take cognizance of the affair, as representing the Court of Peers, the King of Navarre had issued orders to go on with the proceedings, and pressed the matter forward all the more rigorously, seeing that he himself had not escaped the breath of calumny; [2] his enemies had spread

[1] The dowager Princesse de Condé also wrote, on the 9th of April, a very severe letter to her daughter-in-law; M. Halphen has published it in the introduction to the 'Véritable Discours,' by Fiefbrun (Paris: Aubry, 1861).

[2] '. . . On this point I am constrained to add, well knowing what might be the effect of sinister counsel and your own clemency and good nature, that your enemies having even dared, with that impudence and wickedness which is the result of despair, to spread the report that that detestable crime (the death of the Prince de Condé) was instigated by you, it is impossible for you, nor ought you if it were possible, to hesitate about the action, without

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the report that he was privy to the death of his cousin. The Commissioners then were pursuing their enquiries, when the pregnancy of the Princess, which soon afterwards was declared, caused them to suspend the proceedings. Nevertheless she remained for seven years in strict confinement. We shall see later on in what manner and under what circumstances the decree of the Parliament of Paris, which declared her innocent, was obtained. We will only add here, that if a series of mysterious circumstances tended to throw suspicion upon her, yet the only evidence against her was the deposition of Brillaud, extracted by torture. It has been asserted that the Princess was pregnant by the page Belcastel, and, being unable any longer to conceal her situation, poisoned her husband to escape his just vengeance; but this accusation is unsupported by a single fact or declaration. The death of Condé may possibly be attributable to some agent of the League, and the morals of the age make this far from improbable. It must, however, be repeated, that the Prince had been notoriously ill for many months, and that the doctors were by no means unanimous in admitting the proofs of poison; several were of opinion that the spots in the stomach, which appeared upon examination, might be attributed to another cause. The Faculty of Montpellier were of this opinion.

Whatever was really 'the manner of this death,' it

making an irreparable breach in your reputation; but on the contrary you ought to pursue the matter to judgment and execution, so as to stop the mouths of those detestable calumniators in the sight of God and man. . . . .' (Beza to the King of Navarre; original minute. Bibliothèque de Genève.) See Appendix, No. XII. We publish also the autograph letter in which the King of Navarre informs Beza of his cousin's death. This document, which has escaped the careful researches of M. Berger de Xivrey, is preserved in the library at Gotha. (Vol. MS. 403, p. 502.)

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made a profound impression upon the King of Navarre. At that very time several attempts had been made upon his own life. He felt himself isolated and exposed to the perfidy of his enemies, and the numerous letters in which he alludes to that mysterious affair are pervaded by a tone of sadness which was not habitual to him. Publicly he testified great affliction, and spared no eulogies upon the friend he had lost, styling him 'the second eye of the Churches of France.'[1] To the young girl, the offspring of Condé and Marie de Clèves,[2] he promised to be a father, to replace him 'whom he cherished and loved as his own brother.'[3] But in his private intercourse with Corisande, his regrets were not so keen; it is evident that he still retained the recollection of the embarrassing position he had always held with respect to his cousin. 'I mourn for him as he ought to have been to me, not as he was to me.'[4] In truth he had found Condé more a trouble than a support to him, and had that Prince survived, there is no doubt that his love of taking his own course, and his independent fancies, would have thrown yet more serious difficulties in the path of Henri IV. For, after the renunciation of the King, whose example it was not probable that he would have followed, he would have acquired far greater influence over the Protestants, whose entire sympathies and prepossessions he had already secured. Indeed he was even more regretted by the Reformed Churches than his father was, although he had

Henri IV.'s feelings respecting his cousin. Critique on the Prince.

[1] '*Summo scelere carissimum nobis fratrem, illustrissimum principem Condæum, alterum veluti oculum Gallicarum ecclesiarum, nuper e medio sustulerunt.*' (The King of Navarre to Christian, Duke of Saxony, March 22, 1588.)

[2] Catherine de Bourbon, Marquise d'Isles. She died unmarried, Sept. 30, 1595.

[3] Letter of the King of Navarre, end of March 1588.

[4] Letter to Corisande.

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not rendered to them such brilliant services. But he had ardently espoused both their passions and their prejudices; and this it is which is often the most acceptable quality, whether in the leaders or the followers of a party. Moreover he deserved their respect on account of his religious convictions. He was severe in his morals and firm in his principles. De Thou, dining with him one day in Languedoc, heard him reprove his officers who were speaking in defence of duelling, and denounce that universal custom with a warmth altogether astonishing in that age, and which the well-known valour of the Prince prevented from being misconstrued. He was a brave, decided, obstinate, and 'inflexible partisan.'[1] But in politics as in war he lacked discernment. He had a narrow disposition, not remarkable for fairness, and he had not 'that rare quality of the King of Navarre of being always at hand—'présent à tout.'[2] He scarcely ever succeeded in any of his enterprises; his public and private life were equally unfortunate, and yet 'he had a royal heart,'[3] he was 'liberal, gracious, eloquent,'[4] like his father, but with some timidity 'caused by his deafness.'[5]

Perhaps in any other walk of life the qualities with which he was endowed would have developed themselves; but his birth, like his merits, placed him in the second rank. Henri IV.'s place in history is such that every form which appears at his side is thrown into shadow by his.

[1] D'Aubigné. [2] Ibid. [3] Lestoile. [4] Brantôme. [5] Ibid.

CHAPTER II

HENRI II. DE BOURBON.

THIRD PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

1588—1610.

Survey of the principal events which followed the death of the second Prince de Condé.—Junction of Henri III. and of the King of Navarre.—Siege of Paris.—Death of Henri III. (August 1589).—First acts of Henri IV.—His march on Normandie.—He establishes himself at Dieppe.—Position of Arques; splendid series of fights in its defence (September 1589).—The King is reinforced; Mayenne retires.—The King reappears under the walls of Paris.—Skilful march on Tours.—Progress of the King's affairs.—Efforts of the Leaguers and their allies.—Battle of Ivry (March 14, 1590).—Blockade of Paris raised by the Duke of Parma (September 1590).—Difficulties of the King's position; he shows a bold front to them.—Siege of Rouen, commenced in December 1591, and raised by the Duke of Parma in April 1592.—Offensive movement on the part of the King; orderly retreat of the Duke of Parma; his death.—Third party.—States of the League.—Abjuration of Henri IV. (July 1593).—Entry of the King into Paris (March 1594).—Capitulation of Lyon and Rouen; frontier war; fight of Fontaine-Française (June 1595).—At Dijon, the Connétable hands to the King a petition in favour of the Princesse de Condé. Birth of the third Prince de Condé, Henri II. de Bourbon, September 1, 1588, at Saint-Jean-d'Angely.—Long detention of his mother; animosity of her family.—De Thou obtains from the King a recognition of the young Prince, and a promise that he shall be brought up in the Catholic religion.—The Princesse de Condé is liberated under precautions (July 1595).—The Marquis of Pisani, appointed governor to the young Prince, takes him to Saint-Germain, where he is declared heir to the throne (November 1595).—Education of the young Prince; D'Haucourt is appointed sub-governor, and Lefèvre tutor.—Acquittal and abjuration of the Princesse de Condé (1596).—Her character; her contest with Pisani; its disastrous influence on the education of her son.—Public eulogies bestowed upon the young Prince; the Cardinal de Florence; the Avocat-Général Dollé; Grotius.—Continued doubts as to Condé's legitimacy; state of public opinion.—Anecdotes.—Divorce and second marriage of

Henri IV.—Change in the position of the young Prince.—Death of Pisani (October 1599); he is replaced by Belin.—The education of Condé is completed under unfavourable circumstances; his character; his disposition; his life at Court.—Presentation of Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency.—Impression produced by her beauty.—Henri IV. breaks off the marriage arranged between her and Bassompierre.—The Prince de Condé is affianced to Mademoiselle de Montmorency (December 1608); they are married on the 17th of May, 1609.—The King's passion breaks out. Altercations between him and Condé. Condé withdraws to Valery with his bride.—Malherbe celebrates in verse the amours of the King.—Having put in an appearance at Court, Condé returns to Valery, whence he goes to Muret.—Incidents during his sojourn in Picardie.—He is summoned to Court, and goes there alone; the King wishes to divorce ('démarier') him.—Intervention of De Thou and of the Secretary Virey.—The King's passion.—Condé starts off, announcing that he will shortly return with the Princess (Nov. 25, 1609).—The King is informed that Monsieur le Prince is carrying off his wife to Flanders (Nov. 29).—Prompt measures taken to stop the fugitive.—Condé reaches Landrecies (Nov. 30). He is there joined by the agents of the King.—Embarrassment of the magistrates.—After some hesitation, the Archdukes authorise the Princess to go on to Brussels; but Condé is obliged to quit the Low Countries, and goes to Cologne, which he reaches Dec. 8.—Measures taken by Praslain and Virey.—The Princess is placed in security at Brussels, in the Palais d'Orange.—Consequences of the steps taken by Henri IV.—Opinion of the Spanish ministers, particularly of Spinola.—Condé summoned to Brussels; arrives there on the 21st December.—Sorrow of the Princess; her relations with her husband. Dispositions and steps taken by her family.—Intrigues of the King.—Fruitless negotiations in order to bring about a reconciliation between him and Condé, who falls more completely into the hands of the Spaniards. The Marquis de Cœuvres is despatched (January 1610); steps, direct and indirect, of the King, in order to influence and intimidate the Court of Brussels.—Secret mission of the Marquis; he is directed to carry off the Princess.—Virey discovers the design of Cœuvres, and comes to an understanding with Spinola to out-manœuvre him.—Surprise during the night of the 13th February, 1610.—Formal ultimatum addressed to Condé by the French Ambassador.—Condé decides to quit Brussels.—He entrusts the care of his wife to the Archdukes, leaves in disguise on the 21st of February, and reaches Milan on the 31st March.—Attitude of Spain in reference to him and to Henri IV.—The Connétable claims his daughter.—Mission of Preaulx.—Reply of the Archdukes.—Petition of the Princess for her liberation.—Fresh measures taken by the King towards the Archdukes.—It is thought that he will second them by a military display.—Fresh verses by Malherbe.—Notwithstanding assurances to the contrary, the passion of the King is more demonstrative than profound.—True aim of Henri IV.'s armaments: his policy; the alliances and resources which he has prepared.—He demands of the Archdukes a passage for his army through Luxembourg.—The Court of Brussels offers to send back

the Princesse de Condé.—Fruitless efforts to stop Henri IV.—Bullion, French Ambassador at Turin, is charged to watch Condé, who is living at Milan.—Attempt to induce Condé to go to Rome.—He renounces the plan on hearing of the entry of the French into Lombardy.—He learns the death of Henri IV. (May 1610), quits Milan, and reaches Brussels June 18.—He submits himself to the Regent, refuses to see his wife, and reaches Paris, July 16, 1610.

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Summary of the principal events which followed the death of the second Prince de Condé.

BEFORE returning to the cradle of the infant with which Charlotte de la Trémouille was pregnant at the death of her husband, we must follow the chain of historical facts which took place after the death of the second Prince de Condé and sum up the principal events which were to exercise so great an influence on the fortunes of his son.

The year fifteen hundred and eighty-eight opened unfavourably for the Reformers. The catastrophe of Saint-Jean-d'Angely was not the only misfortune which they had to deplore. The foreign army, on which so many expectations rested, had been cut to pieces. The League alone triumphed. Whether successes or reverses, every incident of the war turned to the advantage of the Lorrain faction, and the victory of the Béarnais Prince at Coutras had not caused more damage to Henri III., had not drawn down upon him more sarcasm and insult, than the rout of the Protestant 'reîtres.' Some months later it was only necessary for the Duc de Guise to present himself in Paris in order to drive out his sovereign.[1] Henri III. believed that he could revenge the 'barricades' by the double assassination at Blois in December 1588; but no crime could reinstate him in that authority which he had allowed to slip out of his hands. The 'martyrdom of the two brothers' excited general indignation, and the King, blockaded in Tours,

Junction of Henri III. and the King of Navarre.

[1] May 1588.

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more isolated than ever, had soon no better resource than to call to his aid the Protestants and their leader, the King of Navarre. 'It is five months,' wrote the latter,[1] 'since I was condemned as a heretic and as unworthy to succeed to the Crown; I am at this moment its principal pillar.'

Siege of Paris.

And it was indeed the arrival of the Huguenot veterans which may be said to have saved 'The Crown of France.' The gates of Tours were left to be defended only by a handful of arquebusiers, and, notwithstanding the proverbial valour of Crillon, the Leaguers were about to penetrate to this last refuge of the 'Valois,' when they were stopped by the vanguard of the Protestants, which Châtillon brought up in great haste. Henri III. had felt himself so nearly lost that the brilliant fight of the Faubourg Saint-Symphorien and the retreat of Mayenne were not sufficient to reassure him. He remained hesitating and depressed, wanted to abandon the Loire and take refuge in Bretagne, leaving it to his scattered troops to maintain the conflict wherever they could. But 'irresolution is out of place now;'[2] Navarre understood this. He persuaded the King to give up his journey to Bretagne and his disastrous system of guerilla warfare; he induced him to place himself at the head of all his assembled forces, and energetically to take the offensive on the most important point. 'In order to win back your kingdom,'[3] said he, 'you must cross the bridges of Paris.'

The plan sketched by the Béarnais Prince with so much correctness and decision was successfully carried out. It was found that there were sources of strength

[1] To Corisande from Blois, May 18, 1589.

[2] Letter of the King of Navarre to Mornay.

[3] Letters of June 6 and 7.

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1589 August. Death of Henri III.

hitherto unexpected. The Royal army was large and in good order; that of the League was already shut up in Paris; the kindred of the Duc de Guise had not inherited either his popularity or his influence; the leaders of the faction were divided and jealous of one another; the people were discontented. The siege of the capital commenced, and was making rapid progress, when Henri III. was assassinated.

First acts of Henri IV. His march on Normandie.

All questions were now reopened. The soldiers alone had not hesitated to acknowledge the new King. 'You are the King of the brave,' said Givry to him in presenting to him the officers of the French Guards, 'and you will be deserted only by cowards.' But the chances of Henri IV. seemed very poor, and the ambitious, the egotistical, and the timid were not so easily drawn after him as the honest soldiery. Several of them at once quitted the Royal quarters, without concealing their hostile intentions. The majority of people were held in suspense by the religious question, some of them from policy, and others from sincere scruples; all were anxious to gain time before choosing sides. The public instinct was decidedly adverse to the Protestant King. And even the most firmly established right loses force under the resistance of national sentiment. Henri IV. understood this; he neither could nor would abjure at that critical moment, but he did not hesitate to announce publicly that he would maintain the Catholic religion, would become instructed in it himself, and would govern according to the ancient laws of the realm. It was under the conditions laid down in this formal engagement, ratified by a positive deed, that the Princes and the great officers of the Crown swore allegiance to him.

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This declaration comprised very much; but for the time it did not at all affect the situation of affairs. The military operations undertaken by the late King could not be carried on; the ranks of the army, diminished by the first desertions, were becoming thinner and thinner. The King was overwhelmed with requests for leave of absence; he refused none; for he knew that his permission would have been dispensed with. Besides, it was becoming impossible to remain before Paris. Henri IV. was besought to recross the Loire, in order to begin once more, in the provinces which he knew and where he was known, that petty warfare which had succeeded so well for the last ten years; it was the course which seemed most obvious, but the King rejected it. He formed two great detachments; the one was to operate in Picardie, under the orders of the Duc de Longueville, the other in Champagne, under the orders of the Maréchal d'Aumont. This separation of the Royal troops was only apparent. The nucleus of these two armies was the noblesse of these two provinces, who could not be kept any longer at a distance from home, and whose support thus became valuable. The King retained about his person all that he could, the French Guards, the Swiss, the Protestants, and a few Catholic noblemen and regiments. At the head of this body, which, though small, was thoroughly to be relied upon, he quitted Saint-Cloud on the sixteenth of August, first escorted the remains of his predecessor to Compiègne, and then turned towards Normandie. His friends and old advisers were of opinion that he was on his way to ruin; but this bold movement was a stroke of genius. Had he retreated behind the Loire, he would still have been merely King of Navarre, shut up by his

enemies in a corner of the kingdom, and cut off from communication with his allies or his lieutenants. In marching on Normandie, he acted as King of France, protected himself by the sea, and secured the valuable assistance of Elizabeth. He was able also to co-operate with the forces which the Duc de Longueville commanded in Picardie. His political and military instinct could not have led him to adopt a wiser course.

He establishes himself at Dieppe.

After making a display before Rouen, which, like most of the large towns of France, sided with the Leaguers, the King moved towards Dieppe, where he was received with enthusiasm by the hardy inhabitants. He established his head-quarters there, but did not linger there in idleness. While the defences were being put into order, he kept his soldiers employed in forays about the neighbourhood. Eu, Arques, and other small places, were captured in these expeditions. Meanwhile Mayenne had marched out of Paris with an army at least three times the strength of his own; its renown brought daily accessions to it, and more than one heart began to fail among the King's followers. He was advised to embark for England. 'Sire,' said Biron to him, 'there is no King of France out of France.' Henri IV. was of this opinion, as his subsequent conduct proved. Mayenne had spent fifteen days in assembling his army in Paris; and it would take him fifteen more before he could reach Dieppe. While he was wasting his time in capturing Neufchâtel and Gamaches, and was taking his ease in the splendid château of Eu, which belonged to his family, the King was studying and fortifying the ground on which he designed to await the attack of the Leaguers.

The long and lofty ridge of coast which separates the

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mouth of the Somme from that of the Seine opens the way for several streams which run at the bottom of the green and narrow valleys. The wide and level plateau which crosses the ridge is thus intersected by the same number of deep hollows. As these rivulets, continually met by the rising tide, twice every day overflow the meadows on their banks, each of these little valleys becomes impassable except by the roads which have been constructed near the principal centres of population. The harbour of Dieppe, like all those of the towns on that coast, is formed by the mouth of one of these water-courses—the river Arques—formed by the junction of three rivulets, the Aulne, the Béthune, and the Varenne, which unite their waters about six kilomètres from the sea, near the pleasant village whence the river takes its name. This stream, which is not crossed by any road between Dieppe and Arques, served as a line of defence for the Royal army. The main body was on the right bank established in the village of Arques, covered by works judiciously planned; a château which crowned the heights, and the majestic ruins of which still tower above the valley, formed the base of these entrenchments. The suburb of Pollet, on the right bank, between the port of Dieppe and the cliff, fortified in haste and occupied by one detachment, flanked the left of the line. Between these two bastions, the long curtain formed by the marshy ground was watched by small outposts and protected by a few batteries.

Position of Arques; splendid series of fights in its defence.

On the fifteenth of September, the army of the League took up its position on the plateau, to the north-east of Dieppe, their right being before Le Pollet, their left at Martin-Église, opposite Arques, but separated from that

village by the three rivulets which make their junction a little below. It was eighteen thousand strong, of which three thousand were cavalry, supported by four guns. The King had only about five or six thousand men, and less than a thousand horse; but he was stronger in artillery, especially in siege guns, which were well adapted for the nature of the fighting which was before him. Trusting to his great numerical superiority, Mayenne attacked on the extremities of his line; but the movement of his left towards the road to Arques was little more than a feint, the real attack was directed against Le Pollet. A few days earlier this had been the weak point, and his success would have been probable, had the march of the League, well directed as it was, been a little more rapid. Mayenne was a man of sound judgment, and knew the art of war; his combinations were generally good; but he was tardy and indolent, while Henri IV. was distinguished by his indefatigable activity and his remarkable promptitude in the execution of his plans. On this occasion the Leaguers were unable to debouch from Martin-Église, and it became evident that Le Pollet was not to be taken by a coup-de-main.

Repulsed on both wings, Mayenne wished to reconnoitre the centre of the line. He tried to force his way by a bad ford, which crossed the river opposite Bouteille, about halfway between Dieppe and Arques; but he was stopped by a trench which the King had made and protected with artillery.

The failure of these disconnected attacks diminished the confidence of the Leaguers. Their leader felt that a general engagement would be necessary to raise the fallen spirits of his troops, and that he would require his

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whole force to dislodge the Royal troops from their position at Arques. He concentrated his army on the left, but he took up his positions with his wonted tardiness. It was not till the night between the twentieth and twenty-first that he found himself in a position to attack before Martin-Église.

This village bestrides the Aulne. The road which leads into the highway to Arques follows at first the left bank of the stream; then, after its junction with the Béthune, goes back up the side of the latter as far as its junction with the Varenne. Along this distance of about two thousand mètres, the road is overhung on one side by rugged cliffs which are topped by the thick coppice-wood of the forest of Arques; on the other it is bounded by the marshy plains through which the two streams take their winding course. At the narrowest part of the passage, and about halfway, the King had constructed a 'traverse' of which a fortified field-hospital formed the salient. Farther on, a second work, formed of a curtain and of two demi-bastions, covered the hamlet of Les Archelles and the head of the high road which crosses by a bridge the Béthune and the Varenne at their junction. The other extremity of the bridge abutted on the entrenchments which surrounded the village and château of Arques. The guns of the château commanded the right bank of the Béthune. Thus a defile about half a league in length, bounded by almost impassable obstacles, and of which the extreme breadth did not exceed four hundred mètres, intercepted by three lines of fortification, and commanded by artillery—such was the position that the Royal army had to defend. It was impossible to find a more favourable one, and to use it

more wisely to compensate for their inferiority in numbers.

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Mayenne hoped to surprise the King; but his movements had been discovered, and all was in readiness for his reception before sunrise. The readiness and vigour with which the successive charges of cavalry and volleys from the infantry, who occupied the first entrenchment, followed each other, held in check the vanguard of the Leaguers for a considerable time. The remainder of their army was unable to deploy. Their 'lansquenets,' however, having slipped into the woods which commanded the roads, pretended to give themselves up to the King, mixed with the troops, and then suddenly reversed their pikes, and by this dishonourable stratagem delivered up to Mayenne the hospital and the 'traverse' which was attached to it. There was then a moment of wavering, and the King, 'notwithstanding his gentleness, was compelled to say that he was displeased.'[1] Had it not been for his valour, always uniform and always brilliant, and for the steadiness of Galory's Swiss regiment, the day would have been lost. At last the troops rallied tolerably well, and the fighting was resumed under the same conditions between the hospital and Les Archelles. Very soon, a thick mist, which till then had enveloped the combatants, cleared quite away, and allowed the Royal artillery to open fire: that which protected the second entrenchment, and that of the château, thundered forth at the same time. The enemy's cavalry, seeking a passage, bore to the right, and became entangled in an impracticable bog, out of which they floundered with great difficulty, decimated by the bullets. At that very

[1] 'Mémoires de Charles de Valois, Duc d'Angoulême.'

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moment, Châtillon arrived from Dieppe with five hundred men taken from the garrison of Le Pollet. There are moments in war when the very least reinforcement produces a decisive effect. This was the case on that day. Thanks to this reinforcement, the King was enabled to prevent the enemy's cavalry from rallying. The first entrenchment was retaken, and the Leaguers were driven back with great loss into Martin-Église. Henri pushed on no farther. Satisfied with the success already obtained, he thought it prudent not to pass beyond his guns which had been so useful to him.

The King is reinforced. Mayenne retires.

Three more days passed without a renewal on Mayenne's part of the fruitless attack of the twenty-first; on the other hand the King was not in a condition either to take the offensive or even to defend his position should the enemy attempt to turn it. He did not then delay to evacuate his entrenched camp at Arques; and, leaving a garrison in the château, he withdrew to Dieppe. His great point was to avoid checks, to dispute the ground inch by inch, and to exhaust the forces of the enemy. Time favoured him; he was waiting for a reinforcement, whose speedy arrival would, he hoped, remedy his inequality of numbers, whilst the Leaguers, who had left Paris confident of a speedy and complete triumph, had made no preparation for a continued struggle. The latter, however, made one more attempt; the river Arques was passed, and the village of La Barre, which covered the Château of Dieppe, was taken. But the attempts against the latter city were repulsed; a part of the aid promised by Elizabeth to the King had just arrived. Twelve hundred Scotchmen had disembarked in the harbour of Dieppe; another corps was to follow. On

the other hand the Comte de Soissons and the maréchal d'Aumont were advancing by long journeys, at the head of the united armies of Picardie and Champagne. Mayenne was about to find himself in his turn in rather a perilous position, and, not daring to confront the situation with his discouraged troops, he marched away from Dieppe. The King at first thought that he was about to fight the Comte de Soissons, and hastened to follow him up, less perhaps with the object of rescuing the army of reserve than for fear of seeing his turbulent cousin victoriously fighting without his aid. But the Duke, striking northwards, plunged into Picardie, in order to enforce the execution of the recently concluded treaty between his party and the King of Spain, and to hasten the arrival of the regiments which that Prince had promised to send to his assistance, by causing to be delivered up to his officers the towns which were guaranteed to him. The King did not follow him, but recaptured Eu and Gamaches, where he joined the troops of D'Aumont and the Comte de Soissons; and then, reinforced by a fresh contingent from England, he descended rapidly on the Valley of the Seine, and crossed that river at Meulan. On the first of November he took all the suburbs of the capital on the left bank.

The King reappears under the walls of Paris. Skilful march on Tours.

This coup-de-main caused profound astonishment in Paris. When Mayenne left it three months before, windows were already being let to witness the passage of the Béarnais Prince in chains, and now this very Béarnais Prince reappeared, not as a captive, but at the head of his victorious army. Nevertheless, the King had neither the means nor the intention of seriously attacking the great city. He had determined to show himself in the heart of

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the kingdom, and thus to give a striking proof of his recent success. He was compelled to retire on the fourteenth of November as soon as Mayenne entered Paris; but he was fortunate and clever enough to deprive this movement of any unfavourable aspect by directing his march towards Tours. The seat of the Parliament had been moved to that city; there were assembled the various members of foreign Courts who had been able or willing to quit Paris, and it was indispensable that the new King should come to an understanding with the faithful depositaries of his authority. Thus to make capital out of a retrograde movement; to turn an enforced retreat into a constituent part of the operations that were to lead to the desired result;—this was to solve one of the most difficult problems both in politics and in war.

The Royal army did not remain inactive during the winter of 1589. The League lost a large number of towns in Touraine and in Normandie; their leaders were paralysed by dissensions which had now become public, and which brought discredit on their cause:

A tant de roitelets ensemble
Six Frances ne suffiraient pas.[1]

Public opinion, on the other hand, was becoming more favourable to the King. He had not been well known north of the Loire before his accession. It was vaguely known that he had fought well in Gascogne; but he did not pass for more than a good captain of carbineers. The result of his first campaign had all the éclat of an unexpected success, and made a no less vivid impression on men's minds than the charm of his amiable and bril-

[1] Hymn of the Tours clergy.

liant qualities had made upon their hearts. People began to feel confidence in this soldier-King—'the Prince of warriors.' Already an undefined instinct pointed him out to the people as the man who alone could put an end to the evils of the country; and the hymnist of Saint-Martin of Tours believed himself to be at once falling in most truly with the general feeling, and foreseeing most accurately the future, when, in his enthusiasm for the Royal and the national cause, he thus ended his celebrated ode:— CHAP. II. 1590

Quand tu auras fini la guerre,
Le bœuf ira fendre la terre,
Le marchand ira voyager,
L'artisan ouvrira boutique,
Le procureur aura pratique
A chaque tour de messager.
O Henry, prince des gens d'armes,
Fais pendre aux râteliers les armes,
Donne la paix en ta saison;
Fais, durant ton règne paisible,
Qu'aux gens de bien il soit loisible
Vivre en repos en leur maison.

Progress of the King's affairs. Efforts of the Leaguers and their allies.

It was now the turn of the Leaguers to demand assistance on all sides. The Pope and the Duc de Lorraine were earnestly solicited, and fresh concessions were made to the ever-grasping Philip II. The Pontiff was the first to reply by sending a large subsidy, and the army of the Union was enabled to take the field again. It became urgent to make an effort to arrest the progress of the King; for the circle of his conquests was closing around Paris. The first attack, however, was unsuccessful; Mayenne made an ineffectual attempt to recapture Meulan. This stroke having failed, he marched northward, joined a Spanish detachment which the Comte d'Egmont was bringing from the Low Countries, and a contingent furnished by the Duc de Lorraine, and thus reinforced,

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returned in order to give the King battle. The latter was laying siege to Dreux, when he learned that the enemy had crossed the Seine at Nantes and were marching against him with seventeen thousand men. He raised the siege at once, and crossed the Eure at Nonancourt, in order to pass round the forest which lies to the north of that town.

Battle of Ivry.

On the evening of the twelfth of March, 1590, Henri IV. had himself marked out the order of battle, and had explained the details to his principal officers, expecting to engage on the following day. But on the thirteenth the two armies found themselves face to face too late to begin the action. On the fourteenth, at daybreak, the King advanced with his army to reconnoitre the position of the Leaguers. Seeing that they remained motionless, he 'decided on making the entire journey, with the full intention of making them pay the expenses.'[1]

He had long been conscious of the inconvenience of long lines and unmanageable masses of troops. Following principles well adapted to the nature of the weapons and the method of fighting then in use, he had subdivided his troops, both infantry and cavalry, into small groups varying in strength, each ranged in deep formation, so that by mutually supporting one another, they could recover themselves more easily, and thus better resist the contagion of a flight. If we were to seek for a parallel in modern tactics, we should figure to ourselves a line of battalions massed together and mixed up with regiments of cavalry in close column,—and we should then have some idea of the order of battle adopted by Henri IV. at

[1] 'Discours véritable de la victoire obtenue par le Roy en bataille d'Évry. Tours, M.D.LXXXX.'

Ivry. To sum up,—it was an arrangement similar to that which had succeeded so well at Coutras; with this difference, however, that although he again had three or four thousand men less than his adversary, he had formed a reserve which comprehended the greater part of his infantry, and which he had entrusted to the most experienced among his generals, the Maréchal de Biron. And lastly, his artillery had maintained its superiority; it was more numerous and better served, and the artillery once more opened the action.

The right wing of the Leaguers was unable long to resist this well-directed fire, and attempted to escape from its effects by making a dash at the enemy. It was repulsed and put to flight, and the crowd of fugitives, falling back upon the centre, threw them into some confusion. Nevertheless, the brave Comte d'Egmont made up for this reverse by a most brilliant charge. If Mayenne had supported him, the day would have been his. But while he was busied in re-establishing order in his broken centre, he lost the favourable moment, that instant which in war must be seized by the forelock, but which for ever eludes the man who has once lost it.[1] The King's eye was quicker and more accurate. He had allowed the Spanish squadrons to pass. When he saw D'Egmont halt before the powerful reserves of Biron, he left to others the charge of defeating this exhausted troop; it was now his turn to fall upon Mayenne. The contagious gallantry of Henri had in this encounter the same effect that it produced at Coutras; and when, as the smoke and dust cleared off

[1] Calvus, comosâ fronte, nudo corpore,
Quem si occupâris, teneas; elapsum semel,
Non ipse possit Jupiter reprehendere.—*Phædrus*, V. 81.

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after the shock of the charge, his crest was seen dancing far in the van, the army, full of admiration, greeted it with one great cry of 'Vive le Roy!' The battle was won.

The King crossed the Eure at Anet with his cavalry, followed up Mayenne to the gates of Mantes, and slept at Rosny. On the other hand, Biron, remaining at the head of the infantry, arrived before Ivry towards evening. The barricades which the flying army had hastily raised were forced, and everything found was taken. The 'lansquenets,' guilty of the treachery of Arques, were executed. But two regiments of Swiss, Pfiffer and Berlinger, which, contrary to the terms of the perpetual peace, had fought for the Union, were allowed quarter by the King, and sent forward respectfully to their cantons. This act of kindness deeply touched the Swiss, who were ever after grateful for it.

The Leaguers had lost about four thousand men in killed, a still larger number of prisoners, their guns, their baggage, and many standards. The loss of the Royal army was not more than five hundred men.

Blockade of Paris; raised by the Duke of Parma.

The road to Paris was now open; the victor pursued it very deliberately. First, by the capture of Vernon and Mantes, he completed the occupation of the five bridges over the Seine between Rouen and the capital; and then, going round by Chevreuse, he took Corbeil, Lagny, and Melun, and completed the investment of Paris in April and May 1590. The blockade was not severely conducted. The King in this case displayed a leniency for which he has never had sufficient credit; but a letter in which Elizabeth upbraids him in strong language for his ill-timed clemency, takes away all doubt

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on this point. Yet, notwithstanding the patience of the besieger and the fanaticism and determination of the besieged, the conflict was on the point of closing, when the Duke of Parma appeared on the scene at the end of August with the Spanish army from the Low Countries. The King quitted his lines and marched to meet him; the skirmishing began near Claye; the enemy seemed to have decided upon giving battle on the following day; all was in readiness for the engagement. But the Duke of Parma, concealing his march, defiled between the Marne and the heights, and while his adversary, after having waited some time in the plain, was spending his strength upon the entrenched camp where he had left a part of his army, Farnèse carried the important position of Lagny on the fifth and sixth of September; the blockade was raised, and the relief of Paris secured.

1590 September.

Difficulties of the King's position; he shows a bold front to them.

It seemed as if Henri IV. had undertaken the work of Penelope. After each success, fresh difficulties arose to render it fruitless. After his victory at Ivry he pressed on the siege of Paris; the city was at its greatest extremity when the Duke of Parma delivered it. Very soon that great captain was recalled to the Low Countries by the progress of the Dutch. The King rallied his army, pursued with celerity the retreating Spaniards in November and December, routed their rear-guard several times, and returned to the siege of Chartres. Once more the advantage was with him. But the long resistance of Chartres and the disembarkment of the Spaniards in Bretagne again endangered his cause. Now it was the Swiss who refused to go on without their pay; or Elizabeth who exacted seaports in return for fresh supplies; or the Catholics who demanded the conversion of the King; or the Protestants

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who complained of not being protected. Depressed spirits had to be cheered, some to be satisfied, others to be reassured or restrained, allies to be managed, and all to be done with very little money and without any sacrifice of the national interests. Henri was equal to all, both to war and to diplomacy, to great concerns and to small. If he took an important step and one favourable to the Reformers—as when, for example, in July 1591, he repealed officially the edict of July and the other edicts of persecution—he took good care at the same time to secure the concurrence of his cousin the Cardinal de Bourbon [1] and of the other Catholic noblemen in an act which in itself was so simple and equitable, and yet so delicate in the then situation of the King; he sent elaborate despatches explaining it to Nevers, to Montmorency, and to the principal towns of the kingdom. His pen was as active as his sword. The collection of his letters is full of the most charming notes, addressed to gentlemen whose names are now scarcely known, either to summon them to arms, or, what was a yet more awkward business, to request from them pecuniary aid; and he threw into his correspondence a geniality and a grace which detracted nothing from the dignity of his high position. Public opinion, which was already influential and thirsting for news, was not neglected. Every

[1] He was the third son of Louis, first Prince de Condé. We have already stated that he was brought up in the Catholic religion. Having entered Holy Orders, he was soon raised to the episcopate, and was at first called Cardinal de Vendôme. But on the death of his aged uncle, the 'roi de la ligue,' he assumed the name of Cardinal de Bourbon (May 9, 1590). His uncle had in his later years altogether abandoned the chimerical ideas with which his feeble head had been penetrated, and he never spoke of Henri IV. but as 'the King my nephew.'

two or three months a little publication entitled 'A Discourse,' or 'An Authentic Narrative,' or 'Account of all that has occurred in the King's Army,' was circulated widely, and contained the names of all captured towns; displayed in a favourable light the movements of the army or the negotiations with the Pope or others, and thus restored confidence to the King's friends in these critical circumstances. 1591 December.

Thus it was that by means of activity, patience, and tact, Henri IV. was enabled to retrieve his fortunes and to rally his party; so that by the end of the year 1591, he found himself in a position to undertake an important operation. Whilst Mayenne was detained in Paris by his quarrel with the Sixteen, the King laid siege to Rouen in December 1591. He was at the head of the most splendid army he had ever commanded; it numbered upwards of twenty-five thousand men. This was not too great a number; for the fortifications were strong, the garrison numerous, well commanded by Villars, and warmly supported by the townspeople. The siege had lasted for some months when the King learned that Mayenne had at last made the Duke of Parma to understand the necessity of saving Rouen at all hazards. Thirty thousand Spanish and French Leaguers had just arrived on the Somme. Rouen, however, was at the last gasp; Henri could not make up his mind to throw away the fruits of so much toil and trouble; he left all his infantry under the walls, under the command of Biron, and marched off with his splendid cavalry, hoping to impede the enemy sufficiently to give his lieutenant time to complete the conquest. But he had to deal with a rough jouster. Too confident in the bravery of his troop, and

Siege of Rouen, commenced in December 1591, and raised by the Duke of Parma in April 1592.

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not making sufficient account of the fine order in which the Duke of Parma always kept his army, he engaged very imprudently, near Aumale, on the fifth of February, 1592, was wounded, and just missed being taken prisoner in a precipitate retreat. Fortune, however, stood him in greater stead than his ability. Notwithstanding the ill-success of his attempts, he saw the army of the enemy, paralysed by the dissensions of its chiefs, fall back upon the Somme. At the same time the divisions in the Royal army were not less serious. In the absence of the King they became fatal. On the day when the Huguenot regiments were in the trenches before Rouen, the Catholics allowed them to be crushed by a sortie of the garrison. On his return, Henri, whose wound had not diminished his activity, repaired this check. The siege was pushed forward with renewed vigour, when the Duke of Parma again made his appearance. The King for a short time thought he would be able to bar his passage and compel him at last to come to close quarters. But he did not succeed any better than he had done before Paris. Farnèse diverted his attention with his cavalry, and entered Rouen on the twentieth of April. The position was no longer tenable; for this winter campaign had exhausted the resources of all who were serving with the King. For some time too the ranks of his army had been daily thinning, and this last check was the signal for a general desertion. Henri left with only a small corps of regular troops and a few gentlemen, and was obliged to retire rapidly upon Pont-de-l'Arche. The Duke of Parma did not follow him. Always vigilant, he wished before everything to establish himself on the Lower Seine, and laid siege to Caudebec, which was not likely to detain him long. But he received

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during that operation a severe wound, which compelled him to hand over the command to Mayenne.

Offensive movement on the part of the King; orderly retreat of the Duke of Parma. His death.

The latter, thinking himself methodical when he was slow, remained for some time inactive. He had not left the scene of his insignificant success, when he learned, to his great surprise, that Henri IV. had just reappeared at Yvetot on the twentieth of April. The Royal army was more numerous than that which had ten days before been disbanded. The noblesse had been ashamed to abandon their brave leader in so critical a state of affairs. They had rallied round him in crowds to extricate him from his perilous situation. Soon the Leaguers were pushed back upon the Seine and confined in the heart of the Pays de Caux. They were without provisions; Mayenne was at his wits' end; he had to resort for suggestions and for orders to the bed of suffering on which the Duke of Parma was held down by his wound. But the fever which consumed him had not broken down the strength of that powerful mind. He cunningly disseminated the rumour that it was determined to engage in a general battle, and that he intended at least with his cavalry to lay open the road to Flanders. At the same time he was preparing one of those surprises, or rather one of those lessons, which he alone was capable of giving to Henri IV. On the twenty-first of May, at daybreak, the King beheld the hostile army drawn up in battle array on the left bank of the Seine. All had been conducted with so much secrecy, forethought, and skill, that the passage of that broad river had been effected in one night, without the slightest sign having been given of it the evening before, and the arrangements had been made so wisely, that even the rear-guard remained intact. Henri was anxious to

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march rapidly on Pont-de-l'Arche in order to cross the Seine there and to get before the enemy on the Eure and thus close the road to Paris. The obstacles which he had encountered around him, as well as perhaps a certain degree of hesitation, the fear too of finding himself again the sport of some impenetrable scheme, caused him to abandon this plan. He decided on leaving free the road to Paris, and only tried to intercept that to Brussels. But he was not successful even in this. The Spanish army quietly reached the frontier. The litter on which lay the dying Farnèse was carrying off the most formidable enemy of the Royal cause, the only man whose ability could keep in check the fortunes of the Béarnais Prince, his superior, it must be said, in several essential branches of that art which decides the fate of empires.

Henri IV. was a master in the art of war, as it was then understood in his age and country. In tactics he had an inventive faculty; in the disposition of his troops and use of his ground he was without a rival, and in the general direction of operations he frequently displayed the genius of a great commander. But he never tried those combined movements which cause delay, or bring on a battle. Strategy was unknown to him. It was reserved for others to discover and reveal the secrets of that science which in all ages has been acquired by none but a few great men, which had once inspired a Hannibal and a Cæsar, but which had disappeared with the Roman legion. At all events, those illustrious men who at that period held one after another the command of the Spanish armies, seemed to have rediscovered the rudiments of that 'partie divine'[1] of the military art, and for many

[1] 'Mémoires de Napoléon.'

years they appeared to enjoy a monopoly of strategy. We shall have to speak hereafter more in detail of that great military school which commences with Pescaire and ends with the veteran *tercios* in the plains of Rocroi and Lens. Suffice it now to say that Henri IV., though far superior to all the French generals of that age, was unable to outmanœuvre any of the Duke of Parma's designs. Perhaps in a prolonged contest the power of his great mind might have found out the system of his rival. Perhaps also Farnèse, on a day of battle, might have found it hard to resist the promptitude in resolution and vigour in action of his enemy. Spain and the League had none the less lost their bravest champion. Nevertheless the King had still some formidable obstacles to overcome.

Third party. States of the League. Abjuration of Henri IV.

Three years had run their course since he had promised to become instructed in the Catholic religion, and there were no signs as yet that he was preparing to fulfil this undertaking. The position in which he found himself, and the importance and activity of his military operations, had hitherto been a sufficient explanation of his delay. But the war had now changed its character. The King had gained brilliant successes. There was no longer any large army in the field against him. Nothing seemed to be now in the way to hinder him from fulfilling his promise. And yet he always evaded it. He had to keep on good terms with Elizabeth and the Protestants; he wished to make his abjuration the occasion for an agreement with the Court of Rome, which took no steps to smooth over his difficulties; and lastly, he shrank from taking a step which is always painful when it is not the fruit of honest conviction. This indecision doubled the ardour of his enemies, prevented fresh

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adhesions, discouraged and divided his old followers. Bitter complaints were made of an obstinacy which was prolonging the war and the sorrows of the country; his good faith was doubted. Those of the clergy and of the Catholic nobility who had already sided with him made no secret of their displeasure. A third party, composed of bishops and Royalist noblemen, drew around the cousins of Henri IV., the Cardinal de Vendôme and the Comte de Soissons, the one a man of moderate capacity and intriguing disposition, the other brave and intelligent, but restless and turbulent in his nature, who moreover had some ground of complaint against the King. The avowed object of this third party was to raise one of these two Princes to the throne, if the Head of their House did not forthwith enter the bosom of the Catholic Church. And finally, the deputies of the cities and provinces who had been called to Paris by Mayenne were assembling there for the election of a king. 'The Satire of Ménippée' has handed down the States of the League to immortal ridicule; but however decried that assembly has been, and deserved to be, it decided the conversion of Henri IV.: he does not attempt in his despatches to deny this. He felt that any Prince, proclaimed with an appearance of legality, might, in that moment of weariness and misgiving, rally around him a large part of the nation; and in order to take away every excuse for such an election, he entered at once into conference with the Catholic theologians. After some very serious discussions, much deeper than a certain saying which has become a proverb[1] would seem to imply, he abjured the Protestant religion on the twenty-fifth of July,

[1] 'Paris vaut bien une messe.' ('Paris is certainly worth a Mass.')

1593, before the Archbishop of Bourges. The League had received its death-blow. Perhaps it might have been possible to shorten its agony, if the King had condescended to treat with its chief on equal terms; but, with his wonted good sense, he constantly refused to do this. 'I infinitely prefer,' wrote he to Rosny, 'even were it to cost me twice as much, treating with each member by himself to gaining the same end through the medium of a general treaty made with a single leader who could thus always maintain an organised party in my realm.'[1]

Entry of the King into Paris.

It is not our task to trace the history of these treaties separately—a history sad enough, yet common to all ages. We will merely state that the negotiations which were to open to the King the gates of Paris lasted several months. In vain had Belin, the governor of the city, who was mistrusted, been replaced by Brissac, who was bound by old ties to the House of Lorraine. In vain had the magistrates been persecuted, the foreign garrison been reinforced, the imagination of the people inflamed by the most exciting sermons. Nothing could arrest the progress of the party of the King and the dissolution of that of the League. Brissac made his treaty without much mystery; several thousands were in the secret. There were certain signs which made the legate, the Duke of Féria, and the other leaders, aware of what was going on. But there are some events which have become necessary, which all the world foresees, the time of which is in some sense marked out beforehand, and the accomplishment of which nothing can prevent. Lestoile describes that decisive night of the twenty-third of March, 1594. There we can follow with anxiety that guard of Spanish officers

[1] Letter of March 8, 1594.

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going their rounds, to whom a difference of a few minutes or a few paces might have brought death. We can sympathise with the honest citizens who sallied forth from their houses full of courage, yet whose resolution gave way at the first alarm. We can even now picture them meeting in silence, terrified at their own audacity when they observe on the breast of a neighbour the very white scarf they themselves were wearing, hiding their forbidden colours with ludicrous terror, and even rejoicing, as they shivered in it, at the thick fog which protected them. At last the cry 'Vive le Roy!' bursting forth at the barriers, reassured the trembling 'politiques' and woke up the Leaguers. At four o'clock in the morning Henri IV. had entered Paris by the Porte-Neuve, which had witnessed the flight of the last of the Valois. Brissac was waiting for him there with Lullier, the provost of the merchants. When the latter advanced to hand over to the King the keys of the city, Brissac said satirically to him, 'Come, Monsieur le Prévost; we must render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.' '*Render*,' replied the Provost coldly, 'but not *sell*. The laughter was not on the side of Brissac. Lullier was right. The nobility and men in high place were selling themselves to the King; but the gentry and tradespeople were giving up themselves to him, without making any bargain. Henri, however, pretended not to hear, and, placing his scarf around the neck of Brissac, created him Maréchal de France. The foreigners, taken by surprise, did not fight; a single corps of guards, lansquenets, having refused to lay down their arms, were cut to pieces. The King regretted this, for he was anxious that not a single drop of blood should be shed on that memorable day. The

Royal troops took possession of the city without any disorder or pillage. There was not a single arrest made, but about a hundred persons were ordered to quit Paris. The King was only anxious to blot out the remembrance of the prolonged struggle. And the feeling of the people was in accordance with his wish; for on the very evening of his entry, when he was leaving Notre-Dame, the crowds which thronged the precincts and the quays received him with enthusiastic acclamations. It seemed as if everyone had forgotten the state of things that existed the very night before, and all that had happened for the last twenty years.

Capitulation of Lyon and Rouen; frontier war; fight of Fontaine-Française. The Connétable petitions the King in favour of the Princesse de Condé.

The submission of Lyon had immediately preceded the revolution in Paris, and that of Rouen followed close after it. The King had soon reconquered the majority of the large cities and the greater part of the principal men of the kingdom. The Duc de Lorraine had made peace, and Guise had submitted. A few towns in the south still adhered to the League; but virtually the civil war was at an end. It was only the foreign war that still continued on the frontiers and in Bretagne, for Mayenne and Mercœur were now no more than the lieutenants of Philip II. Beaten before Laon, Mayenne made for Franche-Comté, where the Connétable de Castille had just brought a part of the Italian army. The Spaniards in that quarter were masters of the field. The efforts of two brave gentlemen of Lorraine, Tremblecourt and D'Haussonville, whom Henri IV. had taken into his service, were unable to arrest their progress, and the little army of Bourgogne, commanded by Biron, was seriously menaced, when the King arrived.

He was on his way to Lyon, which he had for some

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months promised to visit, and where he had appointed a rendezvous with Montmorency, who had been recently raised to the dignity of Connétable. On learning what was going on at the frontier, he hastened thither, and soon found himself in presence of the enemy at Fontaine-Française, attacked them 'almost before he had time to put his armour on,' with the most unflinching courage, and 'by this hazardous stroke drove them back into their country'[1] on the fifth of June, 1595. A few days after, the Connétable arrived at Dijon, and, after having taken the oath of office in presence of the King, he handed him a petition in favour of his niece, widow of the last Prince de Condé.[2]

The moment was well chosen for recommending that Princess to the justice and benevolence of Henri IV. It is probable that this proceeding of Montmorency, who was a particularly prudent and selfish man, had been previously arranged with the King, and had met with his approval.

Birth of the third Prince de Condé, Henri II. de Bourbon, September 1st, 1588.

Long detention of his mother.

Animosity of her family.

We have already described the mysterious death of the second Prince de Condé; we have mentioned the suspicions which had arisen against Charlotte de la Trémouille, his widow, what was the opinion of Henri IV. on the affair, and, moreover, how the investigations were interrupted by the declaration of the pregnancy of the Princess. About six months after the death of her husband, on the first of September, 1588, she had given birth to a son, who received the name of his father and of the glorious Head of his House. Notwithstanding the

[1] Henri IV. to the Connétable; second letter of June 8, 1595.

[2] The mother of that Princess, Jeanne de Montmorency, was the Connétable's sister.

happy prognostications which, as we learn from a grave historian,[1] accompanied the birth of Henri de Bourbon, third Prince de Condé, he had at first no other abode than the prison in which his mother was incarcerated at Saint-Jean-d'Angely, under the care of Saint-Memme. The investigation had not been resumed; the commissioners who had been appointed to carry it on had been dispersed by the accidents of civil war; and the Parliament of Tours, stopped by the King's orders, did not dare to bring up the case again. The affair had thus for several years been forgotten; the Princess remained in captivity, unable to obtain her sentence or her liberty, harshly treated by everybody, and appealing in vain to her family, to the neighbouring nobility, and to every person of importance whom chance at long intervals brought to the little town. Her brother, the Duc de Thouars, had been unable to refuse her a visit and a promise of support; but, although she had, through her mother, appealed urgently to him, he had restricted the exercise of his authority to the performance of a little ecclesiastical *coup d'état*. The Princess had been most outrageously denied the Communion by the ministers, and Claude de la Trémouille insisted on her admission to it, which gave rise to a strong protest. She was enabled to see in passing her cousin, the Duc de Bouillon, on one occasion, on his way south; but in vain did she remind him of that interview: all she obtained was a general promise of assistance. The very humble letters which she wrote to her uncle Montmorency, and to D'Épernon, who lived close to her, had been fruitless.[2]

[1] It was remarked that thunder had been heard, although the sky had continued serene and cloudless, '*et coruscationes læti ominis visu.*' (Thuanus, xc. 6.)

[2] Letters of the Princess to her mother ('Archives du château de Serrent'), to the Ducs de Bouillon,

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1589

Relations and influential noblemen alike reserved their influence for some object more directly interesting to themselves. It was left to a stranger, a magistrate, a man who, while eminent in other ways, was especially distinguished for his benevolence, the Président J.-A. de Thou,[1] to be the only man who interested himself in this forsaken woman.

De Thou obtains from the King a recognition of the young Prince, and a promise that he should be brought up in the Catholic religion.

In the year 1589, De Thou was on his way to Germany with Schomberg, on a mission from the King. The position of the enemy's army compelled him to go round by Saint-Jean. The captive Princess, unable either to give or to ask for an official audience, sent to the travellers her daughter Éléonore, with her son, not yet one year old, and begged their protection for these children.[2] The worthy President was much touched by this visit; he promised to make every effort in his power to obtain a better fate for these scions of the Royal race. But it was long before circumstances allowed him to testify his goodwill. Henri III. was dead. His successor was not well disposed towards the Princess, and more weighty matters occupied his care. At the same time, Henri IV. did not seem to cast any doubt upon the legitimacy of the young Prince. He consented to stand godfather to him, and conferred upon him indirectly the title of Governor of Guyenne, which he himself had borne before he came to the throne.[3] This informal acknowledgment was not

d'Épernon, and de Montmorency. (MS. Conrart.) See Appendix, No. XIII. Protest of the minister Damours ('Véritable Discours,' published by M. Halphen, Paris, 1861).

[1] The historian.

[2] 'J.-A. Thuani commentarii de vita sua.'

[3] No letters of appointment appear to have been made out in his favour; but in a letter dated July 28, 1590, the King announces to the Maréchal de Matignon that he was investing him with the authority of his Lieutenant-Général in Guyenne, 'in the absence of his cousin, the Prince de Condé—an absence which cannot last less than twenty years.'

sufficient. It was evident that a sentence pronounced against the Princess might attaint the rights of her child. As long as the innocence of the mother was not officially declared, the position of her son remained doubtful and precarious. Moreover, as soon as quiet was in some degree restored, and the authority of the King better established after his conversion and the submission of Paris, the attacks upon Condé and his mother were renewed with fresh animosity. The brothers of the late Prince showed themselves especially virulent against his widow and his son. They urged the King to settle the matter by sentencing the Princess and declaring the child incapable of succeeding to his inheritance. 'My brothers and I,' said the Cardinal de Bourbon[1] to Sully, 'verily believe he is not of Blood Royal;' and he added, that it was the duty of the King to hasten to give children to the kingdom.' And thus, with the view of making a stronger impression upon the already prejudiced mind of Henri IV., they connected this affair with a question which the King had very much at heart—that of the dissolution of his own marriage. And now commenced that series of negotiations, as well with the Holy See as with Queen Marguerite herself, the object of which was to sever a union which had proved unfruitful and unhappy. The King was only too strongly inclined to the side of the Princess's accusers. He received favourably the fresh argument with which he was thus furnished for taking steps towards his own divorce. But the Pope, who had hitherto denied him absolution, was still less willing to

[1] In 1594, shortly before his death. We may add that Sully, who was always violently prejudiced against Condé, is never a very trustworthy authority on any question which concerns him.

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hear of a dissolution of the marriage. As for Queen Marguerite herself, while she had too much need of her husband's indulgence and good graces to proffer any open resistance, she yet used her best endeavours to hinder the divorce, which, under present circumstances, would have secured the triumph of Gabrielle. She sought for pretexts for delay, and only gave a half-consent. And thus, though she had but little patriotism, and was without a trace of jealousy, in obedience simply to an instinct of vanity, she was rendering, little as she knew it, a signal service both to her husband and to France.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding the King's victories, the perils with which he was surrounded seemed daily to increase. His life, which he risked continually on the field of battle, was endangered in another way through those implacable feuds which had been engendered by a civil war and religious animosities. The most eminent services to the State, the most conspicuous merit, or the most venerated excellence, cannot always disarm the fanatic. Already Barrière, in August 1593, and Châtel, in December 1594, had made attempts upon the life of the King. The latter had wounded him severely. And these detestable attempts were likely to be repeated. The sword of a Spanish cavalier, or the knife of some hardened Leaguer, might plunge France once more into an abyss of misfortunes. What was there not to fear, should the Crown descend to an infant unknown to anyone, who had been brought up in the Protestant religion, and whose rights were disputed? On the other hand, the Pope persisted in positively refusing absolution to the King as long as the Heir-Apparent to the throne should not belong to the Catholic communion. A reconciliation with the

Court of Rome was anxiously expected; it was unfortunate to find it thus deferred; the delay was creating fresh difficulties in the way of the King. Even the Parliament showed itself suspicious and displeased. In January 1595, the King having, by a special decree, confirmed and extended the provisions of Article IX. of the Edict of Peace of 1577, which admitted Protestants to public office, the proposal for its registration was met by violent opposition. This circumstance gave De Thou an opportunity of serving his illustrious clients. Hitherto he had been but very imperfectly enabled to keep the promise which he had made to the Princess—not through any want of courage, for, braving the anger of the Princes and the displeasure of the King, he had never ceased to defend her. But the steps he had taken had been continually rendered nugatory by the influence of more powerful adversaries, and he had been able to do no more than give attention to the personal interests of the children.[1] But when he saw the embarrassment in which the action of the Parliament had placed Henri IV., he proposed to secure the passing of the Edict, provided the King would guarantee that the young Prince should be brought up in the Catholic religion. Henri received this proposal ungraciously enough; but, when he began to reflect upon all the annoyance which this matter brought upon him, both in Paris and at Rome, he yielded. The King's messengers announced to the Court that the Prince de Condé 'would at once be taken out of the hands of persons of the Protestant religion, to be brought up in that of Rome.' This declaration brought

[1] Henri IV. wrote to him, Nov. 27, 1594, on the subject of the guardianship of his niece Éléonore, eldest daughter of the Princess.

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about the immediate registration of the Edict, and secured also the freedom of the Princess; for to recognise the rights of the son was to acknowledge the innocence of the mother. There now remained only the formal arrangements to make. It was thought best that a supplication to the King should be addressed to him by the Princess's relations. This was the petition which the Connétable presented to Henri IV. at the beginning of July 1595.

The Princesse de Condé is liberated under precautions.

The names which appeared at the foot of the address belonged to all parties. It was signed by Diane, legitimized as 'de France;'[1] Henri, Duc de Montmorency, Connétable de France; the Comte d'Auvergne;[2] the Duc de Bouillon;[3] Charles de Montmorency;[4] Claude de la Trémouille;[5] Charles de Cossé Brissac;[6] Jean de Lévis-Mirepoix,[7] and others. The King decided that the case should be submitted to the Parliament of Paris, that the Princess should be bound over to appear at that Court

[1] Natural daughter of Henri II., sister-in-law of the Connétable, widow of François, Duc de Montmorency, and thus aunt to the Princesse de Condé.

[2] Charles de Valois, Comte d'Auvergne, afterwards Duc d'Angoulême, son of Charles IX. by Marie Touchet; he married in 1591 Charlotte de Montmorency, daughter of the Connétable and cousin of the Princess.

[3] Henri de la Tour, Vicomte de Turenne, afterwards Duc de Bouillon, nephew of the Connétable by his mother's side, and cousin of the Princess.

[4] Charles de Montmorency, uncle of the Princess and brother of the Connétable, long known under the title of Seigneur de Méra. He had assumed the title of Baron de Damville when his brother exchanged it for that of Duc de Montmorency. He was created Duc de Damville by Louis XIII. He was Admiral of France.

[5] Duc de Thouars; brother of the Princess and nephew of the Connétable on the mother's side.

[6] Second of the name, Peer and Marshal of France, the same that had surrendered Paris to the King. Charles de Montmorency-Damville had married his great-aunt. He was thus a cousin of the Princess.

[7] Jean de Lévis, sixth of the name, Sieur de Mirepoix. His niece, Louise de la Trémouille, was an aunt of the Princesse de Condé.

within four months, and that the signers of the petition being bail for her appearance, she should immediately be set at liberty. Almost simultaneously with this, the King appointed a governor to the young Prince, and selected for that office the Marquis de Pisani.[1] This choice no longer left the intentions of Henri IV. doubtful.

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The Marquis de Pisani appointed Governor to the young Prince; takes him to Saint-Germain, where he is declared heir to the throne.

Pisani belonged to the highest noblesse of France. He was a Vivonnais. He had for many years filled the most important offices of State: at one time as French Ambassador at Rome or in Spain; at another as Colonel-Général of Light Cavalry, alike in the field or on diplomatic missions, under the last Valois, and under the first of the Bourbons; and had acquired the highest reputation for ability and probity. A sincere and devout Catholic, but a Royalist and a patriot, he had been one of the first to acknowledge Henri IV., and, although upwards of sixty years of age, he continued to serve him with the ardour of youth. A trustworthy and able diplomatist, a brave soldier, an upright administrator, an accomplished knight, scrupulous on points of honour—he is mentioned as an instance of this in Brantôme's 'Discours des Duels'[2]—he had won the esteem of Sixtus the Fifth by his energy and frankness; and Henri IV. was in the habit of quoting him as a model of a brave Frenchman of the ancient type.[3] In confiding to such a man the education of the young Prince, the King gave sufficient evidence of the career to which he destined the child, and the status bestowed upon Pisani was virtually that of Governor to the Dauphin.

[1] Jean de Vivonne, surnamed de Torettes, Marquis de Pisani, Seigneur de Saint-Gouard, Knight of the Royal Order, Colonel-Général of the Light Cavalry.

[2] He is there called Saint-Gouard, a name by which he was long known.

[3] 'Antiquæ virtutis Franciæ pro exemplo nobilitati dátus.'—Thuanus, cxii.

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The Marquis repaired to Saint-Jean-d'Angely, to take charge of his future pupil and of the Dowager-Princess, who had hitherto been under the care of Saint-Memme. His instructions were to bring them at once to Court. At the same time, there was a fear lest their departure would not be accomplished without some resistance. Saintonge was in a state of serious disaffection; the imposition of fresh taxes, certain disputes between the province and the King's lieutenant, and some acts of violence committed by the Catholics, had combined to rekindle a fire that was still smouldering. The gentlemen of both religions were in arms.[1] It might have been expected that the Protestants of the province, who were, as we have seen, both numerous and active, would profit by this opportunity and endeavour to retain among them him whom they tacitly looked upon as their future leader. And indeed it was not without bitter feelings that the Protestants had learned that the young Prince was to be brought up in the Catholic religion. Various rumours about the matter were in circulation among them. It was even reported that he was to be sent to the Pope 'as a hostage for the conversion of the King.' The patriarch of their party—Beza—was consulted. 'Make every effort,' counselled he, 'to induce the King to wait till so young a child arrive at some age and degree of discretion, so as to be able freely to declare his intention . . . . ; remonstrate with all due respect, but at the same time with all plainness, against the inexcusable wrong in the sight of God and men which his Majesty, in commanding or consenting to such a thing, will do to himself, his race, and to the whole estate of the realm. . . . But if all this cannot

[1] Letters of De Mornay.

hinder such a deed, wrongful and lamentable though it be, I do not see that you can do more than I have indicated. . . .'[1] Thus Beza did not wish them to do more than respectfully remonstrate, and looked upon resistance as dangerous and useless. Mornay held the same view even more strongly. Much more moderate than Beza, and living almost on the spot, at Saumur, with a sincere love for the King, notwithstanding many differences of opinion, and continuing to serve him with a heavy heart and yet with unshaken fidelity, Mornay did not deceive himself. 'You will have heard of the absolution of the King,' he wrote to M. de la Fontaine, on the fourteenth of October; it is granted upon some hard conditions—the Council of Trent, the Mass in Béarn, and the education of the little Prince in the Roman religion. The Parliament will dispute the first; the States of Béarn, the second; and the Marquis de Pisani is already at Saint-Jean to carry out the third, and I do not think he will meet with much opposition. I deplore this loss of the hope of our Churches—as well as a dear soul turned aside from the ways of his father and grandfather.' All passed off as he had foreseen. A fresh concession pacified the Protestants. As the registration of the edict which admitted them to hold public offices had not been conducted with all the customary formalities, and more especially as the Procureur-Général had formally entered his protest in the deed itself, they viewed it with great suspicion. But the King, on learning all this, made a new decree more widely applicable than the first, and thus appeased, at least for a time, their dissatisfaction.

[1] Unpublished memoir addressed by Th. de Bèze to the Reformed Churches of Poitou, for which we are indebted to M. Jules Bonnet.

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No opposition was made to the departure of the 'little Prince,' as he was called. He quitted Saint-Jean peaceably, and travelled, along with his mother and Pisani, by easy stages. The governors, both of provinces and of smaller districts, the mayors and other magistrates of the towns, saluted him as he passed. The honours with which he was everywhere received formed a strange contrast to the destitution in which he had hitherto lived, and which had not yet altogether ceased. 'For,' wrote the King to the Marquis, 'he has no outfit of any sort, and sleeps with his mother.'[1] Only a single incident occurred during the journey. The company of ordonnance which formed Condé's escort was received with a fire from the arquebuses of the townspeople of Montlhéry. Pisani, who had stopped at Châtres,[2] pressed forward on hearing the noise; but all was explained. The billeting of the troops was at that time a pretext for inconceivable annoyances, and no one submitted with a good grace to the enforced reception of such disagreeable guests. In order to get rid of this obligation, some procured exemptions from the governors of provinces, and others used main force in their resistance, when they thought they could do so with impunity. The people of Montlhéry, from behind the shelter of a crumbling wall, had, it seems, been in the habit of adopting not unsuccessfully the last-named method; and, seeing only a single troop of gendarmes approaching, they received it 'with their wonted insolence'—that is, they killed three men at a single discharge.[3] But when the inhabitants discovered with whom they

[1] Pisani to the King. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, December 4, 1595. ('Archives de Condé.' See Appendix, No. XIV.)

[2] Now called Arpajon.

[3] Pisani. Letter above cited.

were dealing, they hastened to submit, with many apologies. The leaders of the revolt were arrested and sent to Le Châtelet. The next day, the third of December, 1595, Condé arrived at Saint-Cloud, where the Chancellor de Bellièvre, MM. de Sancy, de Schomberg, and other members of the Council, came to visit him, and found him 'very handsome and clever.'[1] Thence he proceeded to the Château of Saint-Germain, which had provisionally been assigned to him as a residence. All had been prepared for his reception, through the care of De Thou, who continued to watch over the interests of his clients, without troubling himself about the perfidious insinuations of malicious people. At the instance of De Thou, the King, then on a military expedition to the frontier, had ordered the Parliament of Paris to go and salute his nephew, 'desiring,' as he said to them, 'that he should be recognized and honoured by you as first Prince of the Blood and Heir-Presumptive to this throne, until God shall have given us children.'[2] In conformity with this order, the Court of Parliament went to Saint-Germain. There the President-in-Chief, De Harlay, harangued the young Prince with the traditional dignity of the French magistrature, a dignity which in the present case added perhaps to the importance of the step. 'When God,' said he, 'gives you with years the knowledge of your circumstances, you will appreciate the high honour that is now paid to you, not by us as individuals, but as the highest sovereign Court of Justice which we represent, and of which you are by birth a member. For although we know that it was the wish of the King that you should be honoured as first Prince of the Blood, we would have you know that

[1] Pisani. Letter above cited.

[2] Letter of November 7, 1595.

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the duty we pay to you at his command is due to him alone, and has never been paid to any other member of the Royal House, of which you are one, but to yourself. . . . . Monsieur, this Assembly offers you its good wishes; you are bound to love it; it desires that your young years should pass in all fortune and happiness, as a thing of importance to the King's realm, and useful as well as necessary to the repose and tranquillity of his subjects.'[1] It is impossible that the rights of Condé could have been more solemnly acknowledged and established.

Education of the young Prince. D'Haucourt is appointed sub-governor, and Lefèvre tutor.

The King personally defrayed all the expenses of his education. The Cardinal Bishop of Paris, Pierre de Gondy, was entrusted with his religious instruction, and began at once to catechize him as thoroughly as his age permitted.[2] 'On the twenty-fourth of January, 1596, he attended Mass for the first time. As Pisani could not be always at his side, a sub-governor was appointed—Nicolas d'Aumale, Sieur d'Haucourt; he was a Huguenot nobleman, who had been, perhaps, already attached to his person, or to his family. It is probable that the King did not wish to break off altogether the ties which bound this child to the old friends of his father and grandfather. But whatever was the motive of his choice, the well-known steadfastness in religious views of the Marquis, under whom D'Haucourt was placed, seemed a sufficient guarantee of the Catholic direction that would be given to the young Prince's education. It remained to provide a preceptor for him; for this was not the office either of the Governor or of his deputy, and doubtless neither of them would have been capable of fulfilling it. Pisani,

[1] MSS. of Lullier. ('Archives de Condé.')

[2] Lestoile.

especially, notwithstanding the important posts he had filled, and although he became the father of that queen of wits, the 'divine Arthénice,'[1] was himself very ignorant, even according to the testimony of his friend De Thou. It was once more the latter who, in his affectionate zeal, undertook to supply this deficiency. He thought first of the most learned and fertile scholar of the age, Scaliger,[2] who had recently taken up his abode at Leyden, to occupy in the university the vacant chair of Justus Lipsius. The Dowager-Princess addressed a pressing letter to Scaliger, most urgently entreating him to accept the office in her son's household for which he had been designated. She also applied to Maurice of Nassau, beseeching him to facilitate the return of the great man of whom Holland had just deprived France. But whether because of the refusal of Scaliger, or because the King saw a difficulty in the employment of a Protestant, these steps proved fruitless.[3] De Thou then sought for a tutor in a small circle of literary magistrates among whom he lived, and nominated Nicolas Lefèvre, Councillor of the Department of Waters and Forests. Lefèvre was the son of a tradesman of Montlhéry; he had attended the College of La Marche, and had there lost an eye when mending a pen; he had subsequently studied jurisprudence in the celebrated universities of Italy, whence he had brought back a great taste for antiquities. Study, but that of the most varied subjects, for it embraced theology, law, philosophy, science, literature, and languages—study, we

[1] The famous Marquise de Rambouillet. The wife of Pisani was a Tuscan lady, Julia Savelli, whom Catherine de' Medici had made him marry.

[2] Joseph Juste Scaliger, son of J. C. Scaliger, born at Agen in 1540, died 1609.

[3] Letters from the Princesse de Condé to Scaliger and to Count Maurice. (Conrart MSS.)

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repeat, was his only joy, his sole passion. He had never chosen to marry, and lived on the small pay of his office, which left him considerable leisure for his favourite pursuits. All the time that the rule of the Sixteen and of the Lorrains lasted, he had remained in a learned and prudent seclusion, completely estranged from the world, and shut up in the house of Pierre Pithou, with whom he was united by a perfect unanimity of opinions and habits, as well as by brotherly affection. He was, in short, a man of enormous learning, thoroughly honest, very bashful, a strict and even devout Catholic, although he had always detested the League, a very sincere Royalist, although unable to cope with the King's enemies. When his new appointment was announced to him, he expressed the strongest aversion to it. He had to quit the society of his old friend, and to break up the whole order of his regular and tranquil life of occupation. Nevertheless, in a spirit of submission, and out of deference to the advice of De Thou and the Chief-President de Harlay, he accepted it.[1]

Acquittal and abjuration of the Princesse de Condé. Her character; her contest with Pisani; its disastrous influence on the education of her son.

All these selections were very good, and, notwithstanding the different origins and opinions of all these persons, whose duty it was to work together for a common result, the education of the young Prince progressed at first with great regularity. The modest Lefèvre confined himself exclusively to the duties of his office, and applied himself with singular devotedness to their fulfilment. M. d'Haucourt was a man of honour, very simple and reserved, who conformed in every particular to the instructions of

[1] 'Nic. Fabri Vita,' by François le Bègue, King's Advocate in the Court of Exchequer, prefacing Le Bègue's posthumous publication of his minor Latin works. Lefèvre was afterwards tutor to Louis XIII., and died in 1612, at the age of sixty-nine.

Pisani. But the Dowager-Princess, who at first had removed from the neighbourhood of her son, returned to him again towards the close of 1596, after her formal acquittal[1] and her change of religion.[2] At once there began a conflict between her and the Governor. Claiming, but perhaps pushing too far, the just rights of a mother, she wished to direct everything herself, and continually countermanded the orders of the Marquis. He was eccentric and imperious, and vehemently maintained the prerogatives of an office which had been conferred on him, not by the Princess, but by the King. He complained bitterly of the small affection which the Princess evinced for Henri IV. 'She will neither see nor feel anything to be right that comes from the King.' In truth, Charlotte de la Trémouille was unable to forget the treatment she had received at the hands of Henri IV. She called to mind the prosecutions that were conducted against her by his orders, and was sensible that none but political motives had induced him to put an end to her imprisonment. She was therefore but little disposed to imbue in the mind of her son the feelings of affection, gratitude, and submission towards the King, nor yet much disposed herself to respect his pleasure. She had a natural turn for petty intrigues, and neglected no means of making her influence felt. Now she was working upon the sensitiveness of M. d'Haucourt, assuring him that he was distrusted on account of his being a Huguenot, and that he was not treated and respected as he ought to be. Now she was addressing the Connétable, entreating him to intervene in her son's affairs, and to prevent his

1596

[1] Decree of July 24, 1596.

[2] She recanted at Rouen, before the Legate Alessandro de' Medici, called the Cardinal de Florence.

CHAP. II. 1596-98

allowance from being reduced; complaining of the disorder which reigned in the Prince's establishment; and following up these complaints with laudations of D'Haucourt and Lefèvre, by way of denouncing Pisani.[1] At another time, to thwart the deputy-governor and tutor whom she had so highly lauded, she tried to have her chaplain, Joseph Texeira, associated in the education of the Prince. He was a Portuguese Dominican friar, formerly Prior of Santarem, who had left his native country with Don Antonio, at the time of the Spanish conquest, had adopted France as his new fatherland, and had attached himself to the Princess upon her conversion. He was a man of some distinction, had travelled much, and written a great deal.[2] 'He was,' says Lestoile, 'a great genealogist, and not unlearned for a monk.' But let the merits of Texeira have been what they might, and let the Princess's grievances have been ever so well founded, all these disputes were very injurious to the young Prince. 'It is pitiable,' wrote Pisani,[3] with the exaggeration of a disappointed and disgusted man, 'to see the little Prince thus guided, served, and treated. For my part, I think that if he were properly guided, his Majesty would be pleased with him; but as he has been managed hitherto, I fear lest he be found wanting, and that those who have been charged with his education will be blamed and despised for this.'

[1] Letter from the Princesse de Condé to the Connétable, undated. ('Archives de Condé.' Appendix, No. XV.)

[2] Among other works, several treatises in defence of the Princesse de Condé and the rights of her son.

[3] To M. de Villeroy, March 5, 1598. See the third edition of Tallemant des Réaux and the excellent commentary of M. Paulin Pâris, i. 55. The same day, he wrote also to the King, complaining in more guarded language, but with no less intensity of feeling. (Original autograph. 'Archives de Condé.')

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1596-98

Public eulogies bestowed upon the young Prince. The Cardinal of Florence; the Avocat-Général Dollé; Grotius.

Notwithstanding this somewhat gloomy prophecy, the Prince received many public compliments. When, in July 1596, Alessandro de Médicis, Cardinal of Florence, the Pope's legate, made his entry into Paris, Henri IV., in order to add to the pomp of the ceremony—for this was the first legate who had been accredited to him—sent the Heir to the throne to meet the Prelate. Everybody, says De Thou, admired the gentle bearing of the boy, and the Cardinal praised him highly.[1] Next year, the King having furnished Condé with the requisite letters-patent for his accession to the governorship of Guyenne (with which he had not yet been formally invested, although the Maréchal de Matignon had been exercising the office in his name), the Avocat-Général, Louis Dollé, demanded the registration of these letters-patent, and pronounced on the subject an obsequious harangue.[2] After comparing Pisani with the phœnix, he added—speaking of the Marquis's pupil—'There is nothing boyish about him, except his face; his words are those of a mature man, his countenance is grave, his judgment is ripe and yet seasoned with remarkable sweetness.' Lastly, two years after this, an edition of Martianus Capella appeared at Leyden,[3] dedicated, with great flattery, to the young Prince by a child of about his own age. This precocious commentator was no other than the celebrated Hugo Groot, better known under the name of Grotius. From

[1] 'Quo officio egregiæ indolis puer decenter et magna cum legati ipsius lætitia defunctus est.'—Thuanus, cxvi. 11.

[2] March 17, 1597. Lestoile. Collection N.

[3] 'Martiani Capellæ satyricon libri omnes emendati et notis sive februis Hug. Grotii illustrati. 1599.' Copies of this book are scarce; it contains two neat portraits of the Prince and of Grotius, engraved by Gheyn That of Condé is well authenticated, and was supplied by Texeira. The eulogists of the young Prince were not very happy in their choice of

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1598

his first school-days, Grotius had astonished his masters by his quickness. Upon visiting France, in 1598, with the ambassadors of the United Provinces, he had been presented at Court as a perfect prodigy, as 'the miracle from Holland.' Henri IV. had presented him with a gold chain, and with the honorary title of Secretary to the Prince de Condé, with whom he had had several interviews. In return for his gracious reception, Grotius, on his return to Holland, prefixed to his 'Capella' a preface filled with the eulogies of the young Prince, which he had heard from his governors and instructors—'*Et nosmet ipsi vidimus ingenium supra ætatem et eruditionem supra fidem.*'

Continued doubts as to Condé's legitimacy. State of public opinion. Anecdotes.

We do not lay great store by these official dithyrambs and dedicatory laudations, of which the vulgarity is proverbial. They are no trustworthy pictures, nor even a reflex of the real opinions of contemporaries. It is certain that whenever the young Prince appeared in public, he was regarded with more curiosity than sympathy. The solemn acquittal of the Princess had not convinced everyone of her innocence. The story of her liaison with the page Belcastel, and the rumour of her husband's poisoning, still circulated and obtained credit. Others gave out that her son had been born thirteen months after her husband's death, which of course was incompatible with the story of the page. But calumny is not nice in its discernment. Certain symptoms betrayed the

similes. Dollé transformed, as above, Pisani into a phœnix. The following is one of the distichs which Grotius addressed to Lefèvre with his 'Capella;' he was despatching his muse to France, to Saint-Maur, to the Court of the Prince de Condé:—

Huic Faber hoc præstat quod Chiron priscus Achilli
Præstitit, aut Magno magnus Aristoteles.

It was pretty strong to compare Lefèvre to Aristotle; but—to Chiron the Centaur!

malevolent disposition of men's minds. A Greek distiller, who frequented the house of Pisani, had applied to certain barbers for some human blood. Immediately it was bruited in Paris that the young Prince was very ill, and that infants were put to death in order that he might adopt the horrible remedy of bathing in their blood while still warm. This was an old story which had been used to rouse the populace against François II. But the rumour obtained sufficient currency and credit to occasion two letters from Henri IV.—one to Sully on the sixth, and one to Biron on the tenth of June, 1599.

Divorce and second marriage of Henri IV. Change in the position of the young Prince.

The King issued very strict orders with a view to put an end to these intrigues—for by no other name can we call rumours which were periodically renewed and systematically propagated. But, notwithstanding the protection and the honours with which he surrounded his nephew, he had perhaps scarcely himself decided upon the destiny for which he was reserving the boy. He had just reaped the fruit of that conciliatory policy which he knew so well how to associate with energetic action. He had accomplished the first part of his great work. In a single year—1598—he had put an end both to civil and to foreign war, and he had destroyed the root of all the troubles by the establishment and regulation of the liberty of conscience. In the spring he had received the submission of Mercœur, and signed the Edict of Nantes; in June he had concluded the peace of Vervins with Spain and Savoy. The task which now remained for him was to consolidate his work, to recover his finances, to close the wounds opened by the war, and hereafter to place France in that rank which she had a right to assume in the world. But in thus beginning, as it were, and entering

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on a new course, he must have felt some uneasiness, when he considered that his death might be the loss of all, that the succession to the throne might be contested, and that, notwithstanding public declarations and solemn engagements, all the doubts as to the legitimacy of his natural heir had not yet been set at rest. Besides which, he had no personal love for this boy. His acknowledgment of the Prince's rights had been chiefly a political expedient, from which it would not have cost him much to withdraw. It has been reported that at the beginning of 1599, when he sent Sillery as Ambassador Extraordinary to Rome, in order to conclude the negotiation relative to his divorce, he authorized him, by secret instructions, to declare to the Pope that the young Prince was a bastard, and that he would never be recognized as King by any of his own race. No certain proof of the instructions is now in existence. But the King's private thoughts are perhaps discernible in a very short letter in which he announces to Sillery the mission on which he was sending him. 'It was important,' he said, 'that he should have heirs, and give to his people Princes under whom they might live in some degree of tranquillity.' Whatever was the real mind of Henri IV., this long and important negotiation terminated without Condé's name having ever been mentioned, at least publicly. The death of Gabrielle, on the tenth of April, 1599, had removed the last obstacle to a divorce. Queen Marguerite gave her consent, and the marriage-contract between the King and Marie de Médicis was signed shortly afterwards.

Death of Pisani (October 1599); he

Although this event was destined to change the fortunes of the young Prince, he retained, until the birth of a Dauphin, the same rank and honours which had hitherto

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1599 October.

is replaced by Belin.

been bestowed on him. Pisani continued to fill his office with undiminished vigilance till his death, in October 1599. A violent epidemic had just broken out in Paris, and the young Prince had been removed in all haste to Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, an ancient abbey, which had been secularised in 1533 by Du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, had been afterwards sold by him, in 1563, to Catherine de Médicis, and had been quite recently acquired by the dowager Princesse de Condé.[1] Situated on the banks of the Marne, in a smiling country, a little beyond the Forest of Vincennes, the Château of Saint-Maur, which had been recently rebuilt by Philibert Delorme, afterwards became one of the favourite seats of the Condés, and was at a later date very much enlarged. But even then it was celebrated for its pure air, and seemed to be proof against a contagion, to which, however, Pisani fell a victim in this retreat. The King was at Fontainebleau. When informed of the melancholy occurrence by a letter from the Princess, he immediately sent for the Connétable, that he might obtain his help in finding a new governor for their common nephew—'a charge which I do not regard as one of the least important in the realm.'[2] But the choice which followed was not what might have been expected after such a speech. The office was bestowed upon the Comte de Belin.[3]

Belin had been once a Leaguer. In 1591, the chiefs

[1] In 1612 this Princess ceded to her son this estate, together with several others, on condition of his discharging her debts, and with certain other reservations. See 'Miscellaneous Accounts; Dossier de Saint-Maur; Archives de Condé.'—'Gallia Christiana.'—'Debtes et Créances de Catherine de Médicis,' edited by the Abbé Chevalier. Paris: Techener, 1862.

[2] The King to the Connétable. Fontainebleau, Oct. 10, 1599.

[3] Jean-François de Faudois, Comte de Belin by marriage.

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1599 October.

of the Union had nominated him to the important post of Governor of Paris. He was then very useful to Mayenne, who treated him without ceremony, and who thought he could depend upon him. But when the King abjured, Belin took another line. He was now loud in his praises of the Béarnais Prince, and boasting of the kindnesses he had received from him when he was his prisoner after the battle of Arques. These sayings were reported to the chiefs of the League, and, in the beginning of January 1594, it was given out that the Duc de Féria demanded the expulsion of Belin from his office. The latter, it was said, was persecuted because he had declared that he would never become a Spaniard, and would always remain a Frenchman. The Parliament took up the matter warmly, and made several representations to Mayenne, which were very favourable to Belin, but without obtaining anything but vague declarations. At length, the Count was driven out of Paris, and left on the seventeenth of January, 1594, greatly raised in public estimation by this disgrace and by the motives which were assigned for it. Since then he had rendered the King considerable service in the reduction of Paris, and it was doubtless as a recompense for these that the office left vacant by the death of Pisani was conferred upon him. Nevertheless, the appointment occasioned great surprise. Belin had never been looked upon either as brave or honourable, and quite recently—in 1596—he had capitulated in Ardres with a promptitude which was severely censured. Some persons ventured to mention this to the King, who replied, 'When I wanted to make a King of my nephew, I gave him Pisani; when I wanted to make a subject of him, I gave him Belin.' No higher eulo-

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1599

gium could have been passed upon Pisani; but the comparison was not very flattering to Belin, nor was the thought very kind towards Condé.

The education of Condé is completed under unfavourable circumstances. His character; his disposition; his life at Court.

The new Governor showed himself more indulgent than his austere and inflexible predecessor. He was on particularly good terms with the Princess, who could now henceforth regulate all in the house at her pleasure. This understanding between the Princess and Belin was brought about at the expense of the sub-governor, D'Haucourt, who was now no longer listened to and supported as he had been hitherto. Accustomed as he had been to receive from the Princess such proofs of regard that it was supposed they had been secretly married, he could not but complain a little of so sudden a coolness.[1] Yet the yoke of Belin was a light one; D'Haucourt submitted, and kept his post. In short, peace was established in the household. But that which was agreeable to the mother was very hurtful to the son. The roughness of Pisani was less prejudicial to him than the complaisance of his successor. The character and habits of the pupil ever after felt the effects of this fatal change. His education, however, was brought to a close without any other very marked incident; but it was wanting in that final stage—at that time indispensable, and always useful—which is called the 'premières armes'—a glimpse of actual service. France was enjoying profound peace, and no opportunity occurred for Condé's initiation in the art of war. When he reached manhood, the King kept him constantly about his person, less

[1] The Princesse de Condé to M. d'Haucourt. Two letters, undated, but written subsequently to the nomination of Belin. (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. See Appendix, No. XVI.)

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through any love for him than to guard him from other influences. Henri IV.'s increasing care was to deprive factious persons of every chance of reconstructing political parties. The Dowager-Princess, although, as was alleged, sufficiently accommodating to the capricious amours of the King, continued to be very unpopular at Court. Having quarrelled with Madame de Verneuil, she had hoped to retrieve her fortunes through the growing popularity of a fresh favourite, her cousin, Jacqueline de Bueil, whom she herself had brought up, and who for a moment had supplanted the proud Marchioness. But the new Comtesse de Moret did not lend to her old protectress the support which she had humbly solicited. An open hostility took the place of their former position of dependence or friendship, and Henri IV., always weak when he had to do with his mistresses, and moreover always full of his old prejudices, seized this opportunity to forbid the Princess to appear before him or the Queen. To Condé was entrusted the unpleasant mission of announcing to his mother this sentence of banishment.[1]

He thus passed the earlier years of his youth without definite occupation, doomed to endure many annoyances, without companions, and without affectionate relations. The monotony of his life was interrupted only by the ceremonies to which his rank called him, and by Court fêtes. He frequently took part in the ballets, then very fashionable, which were danced before the King. He was a young man of middle height, strong constitution, and good figure, although somewhat awkward. Thanks to the assiduity and perseverance of Lefèvre, the ground-

[1] The Princesse de Condé to the Comtesse de Moret, and to her son. (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. See Appendix, No. XVII.)

work of his education had been solid. He was a tolerable Latin scholar, knew some geography and a little mathematics; he wrote French correctly, and spoke it fluently when he got over a natural impediment in his speech. But he was not possessed of those qualities which would fit him to shine in a Court whose gallantries had reached the highest pitch of licence. He was not rich, and he was shy, awkward, and not at all addicted to gallantry. And yet one occasion was noticed when he displayed evidence of dignity and courage. He was not yet nineteen, when, feeling himself insulted by some words which had fallen from the Duc de Nevers, he sent him a challenge. Nevers repaired to the appointed rendezvous, and they would have fought, had not the King heard of it in time and sent to separate them, and, after a severe reprimand to both, 'reconciled' them, on the fourth of February, 1607.[1]

Presentation of Charlotte de Montmorency. Impression produced by her beauty. Henri IV. breaks off the marriage arranged between her and Bassompierre.

About this time there appeared at Court a young woman whose precocious beauty was the theme of general admiration, and drew the especial attention of Henri IV. This was Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, youngest daughter of the Connétable. She was then fifteen.[2] As she had lost her mother, she was presented at Court by her aunt, Madame d'Angoulême. She was immediately beset with admirers; and among that crowd of adoring suitors, she showed marked favour, it was said, to the brave and brilliant Bassompierre. At any rate, their marriage appeared to be agreed upon. The King had consented, and even wished to bestow upon the bridegroom, as a wedding gift, the post of first gentleman of

[1] Lestoile. In the following year the King had also 'reconcile' him with the Prince de Joinville. (Henri IV. to Sully, Oct. 25, 1608.)

[2] She was born in 1593.

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the bedchamber. But the Duc de Bouillon, who claimed that title, was much offended at the King's bestowing it without consulting him; and being further affronted at having first heard from public rumour this intended marriage of his niece, Mademoiselle de Montmorency, he did not hide his indignation. 'I will burn my books,' said he, 'but Bassompierre shall have neither my office nor my niece.' Affecting ignorance of the contemplated event, he began to speak to the King of M. le Prince, to whom he was related by ties of blood; remarked that he was now of an age to be settled in life; that for many reasons his marriage with a foreigner was not to be thought of, and that in France there was only the daughter either of Mayenne or of the Connétable who was suitable for him. But the recollections of the League were too recent for the King to consent to the marriage of the first Prince of the Blood with a daughter of the House of Guise. There was only then Mademoiselle de Montmorency. Bouillon was a man whose nature was proud, turbulent, vindictive, with scanty affections, but with no baseness. We may therefore believe that in this case he only wished to injure Bassompierre, and neither thought of his niece nor of Condé—still less of flattering the rising passion of the King. At any rate, his proposal was well received. While this was going on, Henri IV. had a fit of the gout, and the ladies came to visit him. Madame d'Angoulême was among the most assiduous. She was always accompanied by her charming niece, and the King took more and more pleasure in her society. At length, one night, when Bassompierre was on duty in the King's chamber, he informed him after some preamble that he intended him to marry Mademoiselle d'Aumale, and to

revive the duchy of Aumale in his favour. 'You wish, then,' replied the astonished courtier, 'to give me two wives?' 'Listen,' replied the King. 'I wish to speak to you in confidence. I am not only in love with, but passionately enamoured of Mademoiselle de Montmorency. If you marry her, and she loves you, I shall hate you. If she loved me, you would hate me.' He then announced to Bassompierre that he meant to marry her to his nephew. 'He is only twenty,' added he; 'and he loves hunting better than women. She will be the solace and support of the old age on which I am entering—and I want nothing from her but her affection.'[1] Bassompierre was frivolous, debauched, and not very deeply in love. Moreover, being above all things a courtier, he well understood that he must give way; and only sought to make the most of his sacrifice. Condé was inexperienced, unsuspecting, and not very penetrating as yet; he held the King in a certain dread; and when the latter announced to him his wish, he submitted more readily than was expected.

The betrothal took place shortly afterwards in the gallery of the Louvre, in the month of December 1608. The Connétable gave his son-in-law a hundred thousand crowns, and came to an understanding with his brother to secure to his daughter a little annuity of five thousand livres. The King granted his nephew an increase of his allowance and a present of a hundred and fifty thousand livres.[2] The bride received at the hands of the King a

[1] 'Mémoires de Bassompierre.'

[2] Lestoile informs us that the Connétable gave to his daughter l'Isle-Adam, and that the King promised to elevate this territory into a 'duché-pairie.' He also mentions a gift by Madame d'Angoulême. Nothing of this sort appears in the marriage contract, an analysis of which will be found in Appendix, No. XVIII.

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1608

magnificent gift of jewellery and a splendid trousseau.[1] 'Public rejoicings took place. An edict sanctioned the creation and erection of a sworn mastership in each art and craft, in every city, town, and suburb of the realm and of countries under the King's jurisdiction.'[2]

As for the marriage ceremony, it was postponed for several months, till the arrival of a dispensation from the Pope. This arrived in the month of April 1609,[3] and on the sixteenth of May the marriage was solemnized at Chantilly, the seat of the Connétable, 'very inexpensively, but very gaily.'[4]

The King's passion breaks out. Altercations between him and Condé. Condé withdraws to Valery with his bride.

This gaiety was of short duration. It was all very well for the King to promise that he would never require from the Princesse de Condé more than affection and consolation in his old age. When he said so, he meant it. But he could not long retain the mastery over himself. He forgot what he had once recalled with his forcible eloquence—that he was 'a King, a greybeard, and a conqueror.'[5] He forgot what was due to himself, to a Prince of his House, to a near kinsman, to whom he ought to have been a father; and the passion which every consideration bade him to stifle, broke out openly. He could

[1] 'Œconomies royales.' 'Lettres missives.'

[2] Lestoile.

[3] Letter from the King to the Connétable. The contract was signed at the Louvre, on the second of March.

[4] Letter from Malherbe to Peiresc, May 1609. The Connétable had requested that the celebrated horse-breaker Pluvinel might have permission to leave the Louvre for the purpose of being present at the marriage of his daughter, and Henri IV. had given it as a special favour. (Henri IV. to the Connétable, May 16.)

[5] 'I have not called you together as my predecessors used to do, to compel you to assent to their wishes; I have assembled you that I may receive your advice, trust it, and follow it; in short, that I may put myself into your tutelage — which is not usually the wish of a king, a greybeard, and a conqueror.' (Speech of Henri IV. to the Notables, assembled at Rouen, November 4, 1596. From his autograph notes.

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not keep away from the young Princess, and sought by every means in his power to gain her affections. He, who had always been so simple and even negligent in his attire, was now to be seen dressing and adorning himself with care; and he did not disdain, in his determination to seduce this young woman, to have recourse to devices utterly inexcusable. The scandal was great. Even in the streets the most indecent jests passed from mouth to mouth, and people 'talked with the utmost licence of his Majesty and of the corruptions and debaucheries of his Court.'[1] Condé could no longer hide from himself the danger in which his honour now stood. But he seemed 'little disposed to bear with patience the common misfortune.'[2] His careful vigilance discovered and foiled the scheme against the virtue of his wife. But soon the solicitations made to her became such that he was compelled to ask the King for leave of absence, in order to retire to one of his country residences. His request was very unfavourably received; but he replied with dignified firmness, and in the heat of the discussion allowed the word 'tyranny' to escape him. Upon this, the King, losing all command of himself, replied that he had never committed but one act of tyranny, and that was when he recognized the Prince as what he really was not; and angrily bade him begone. His unjust rage was not appeased even after the Prince had left his presence, and he wrote to the Connétable complaining that his son-in-law 'was playing the devil,'[3] and forbade 'Sully, not only to pay the term of his allowance, which was already due, but even to discharge his debts.'[4] This violence, however,

[1] Lestoile. [2] Ibid. [3] Letter to the Connétable, June 12, 1609. [4] Letter to Sully, of the same date.

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1609

was foreign both to the nature and practice of Henri IV.; he could not long persist in this unhappy course of conduct, and in a few days after the scene just described, the Prince left Paris with his wife for his château at Valery, without any impediment being placed in his way.

Malherbe celebrates in verse the amours of the King.

But the King was inconsolable, and, in order to while away his *ennui*, determined that his amours should be celebrated in verse. Malherbe consented to 'degrade his muse to the office of pander.'[1] In the first stanzas composed under these circumstances, the poet seemed disposed to recall the King to a sense of his duty. He reminded him of that respect for the laws which had distinguished his character and his reign, and which sixty years later was still eulogized by Cardinal de Retz:[2]—

Donc cette merveille des cieux,
Pource qu'elle est chère à mes yeux,
En sera toujours éloignée ;
Et mon impatiente amour,
Par tant de larmes témoignée,
N'obtiendra jamais son retour?

. . . . . .

N'ai-je pas le cœur aussi haut,
Et pour oser tout ce qu'il faut
Un aussi grand désir de gloire,
Que j'avois lorsque je couvri
D'exploits d'éternelle mémoire
Les plaines d'Arques et d'Ivri?

Mais quoi? ces loix dont la rigueur
Tiennent mes souhaits en langueur
Règnent avec un tel empire,
Que si le ciel ne les dissout,
Pour pouvoir ce que je désire
Ce n'est rien que de pouvoir tout.

This indirect rebuke was doubtless not altogether tasteful to him to whom it was addressed. The poet was

[1] Commentary of André Chenier, in the excellent edition of Malherbe published by MM. de Latour.

[2] 'Henri IV., who did not distrust the laws, because he trusted himself.' *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.*

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commanded to compose fresh verses, and this time nothing was said about the laws, or Arques, or Ivry. In verses whose elevated language scarcely veiled the under-current of cynical contempt, a happy issue was promised to the amorous Alcander:—

N'en doute point, quoi qu'il advienne,
La belle Oranthe sera tienne;
C'est chose qui ne peut faillir;
Le temps adoucira les choses,
Et tous deux vous aurez des roses,
Plus que vous n'en saurez cueillir.

The vicissitudes of the Royal passion left but little repose to the muse of Malherbe. Throughout the year 1609 he was thus employed. The Princess appeared at Court for a brief moment; immediately the poet resumes his lyre, and causes Alcander thus to deliver himself:—

Revenez, mes plaisirs, ma dame est revenue;
Et les vœux que j'ai faits pour revoir ses beaux yeux,
Rendant par mes soupirs ma douleur reconnue,
Ont eu grâce des cieux.

Having put in an appearance at Court, Condé returns to Valery, whence he goes to Muret. Incidents during his sojourn in Picardie.

In short, whether because Condé hoped for some happy change in the King's conduct, or because he was alarmed by some menacing language, or perhaps because he felt himself compelled to be present at the marriage of a legitimized son of Henri IV., he had come with his wife to Fontainebleau for the wedding of the Duc de Vendôme with Mademoiselle de Mercœur. But the King's passion became more violent than ever. His solicitations were renewed; the jests, too, began again, and were yet more intolerable. The Prince adopted a decided course, and took back his wife to Valery. Henri IV. used every means in his power to induce him to return, but in vain. 'Beaumont,' wrote the King to the Connétable, on the twenty-third of September, 'returned yesterday, and says

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that he found our friend more unmanageable than ever. . . . He leaves Valery this morning for Muret.' Muret is in the neighbourhood of Soissons, and was one of the Prince's estates. The journey thither from Valery, which is near Sens, was long, and was performed very slowly. Condé, who was justly apprehensive of some scheme on the King's part, varied his route by availing himself of circuitous roads, and took every precaution against surprise. He arrived in Picardie at the hunting season, and this sport gave an excuse for frequent change of residence. M. de Traigny, Governor of Amiens, invited him to keep St. Hubert's Day at his château near Breteuil. The Prince arrived about the beginning of November. One morning, when he was out hunting, his wife, as she was stepping into a carriage, observed a falconer who was waiting in the court-yard with his hawk on his wrist, and threw herself back, with a scream, into the bottom of the carriage. The Princess, her mother-in-law, who was with her, immediately ordered the coachman to proceed. On their return, at the corner of a wood, the same figure appeared in the dress of a keeper, leading a blood-hound. It was the King. On the information of De Traigny, he had quitted Paris in disguise with one or two confidential attendants, and had just arrived at Breteuil without drawing rein. It is possible that his only motive was the childish desire to behold for one moment the object of his passion. Certain it is, at all events, that finding himself discovered, he disappeared at once. Monsieur le Prince hastened back to Muret. His difficulties multiplied. He knew of no place in the kingdom where he was safe from the pursuit of the King.

Meanwhile the Queen was now pregnant, and her de-

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He is summoned to Court, and goes there alone. The King wishes to divorce him. Intervention of De Thou and of the secretary Virey.

livery was shortly expected. Condé was summoned to Court to attend it, and could not refuse to go. The King, somewhat ashamed of his last escapade, had written to him with his own hand in a strain half jocular and half menacing. After complaining bitterly of the notions which the Prince entertained, he added: 'You ought to know me well enough by this time to be sure that I am not affected by noise. I take as arbiters of our difference my cousin, your mother, and my cousin, your father-in-law. If they decide that I am in the wrong, I will only require of you your submission as my attendant, and an affection for my person as great as that which you have for the last five or six months been giving to debauchery. . . . Had you been as prudent as you are otherwise, I would have honoured you with my presence at your meet, and have enraged the fat Count, to whom I beg my regards.'[1] Condé replied by protesting his obedience, and announcing his early arrival. Come he did; but he came alone. Scarcely had he made his appearance at the Louvre, when the Queen summoned him, and begged him to send for his wife, promising to watch over her and even to keep her in her own chamber. Condé blurted out some words by way of excuse, and left without waiting for a reply. With the King he had no words. But Henri IV. summoned Virey, the Prince's secretary, and commanded him to go and tell his master that he was not averse to the accomplishment of the project which the Prince had proposed to M. de Villeroy, and that he would even undertake to procure the parents' consent. This

[1] This letter, and the reply to it, are inserted in the 'Véritable discours de la naissance et de la vie de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé jusques à présent (1644) et à lui dédié par le Sieur de Fiefbrun.' This work has already been referred to above, Vol. ii. p. 120, note.

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project was simply a hasty word that had escaped from Condé in a moment of irritation. A few months before, on coming out, in great excitement, from the presence of the King, who had treated him very badly, he had met Villeroy on the staircase, and had been unable to conceal the reason of his agitation; but he added that, rather than consent to his own dishonour, or expose himself any longer to the King's anger, he would get himself 'dismarried.' This expression, subsequently repeated to the King, was now wrested into a request for a divorce. The next day Virey brought back an autograph reply from Condé. He did not deny what he had said to M. de Villeroy, and expressed himself ready to profit by the King's permission. He therefore begged his Majesty to favour him with such advisers as he thought good, to assist him in this delicate matter; and till it was decided, he had no doubt that the King would find it necessary that his wife should not leave her house. This was not what Henri IV. expected, and the answer upset all his plans. But he could say nothing, for the memorial was very well worded. The King, when he read it, could not help ejaculating, 'This is the reply of a skilful canon lawyer; it smacks of the President.' He discovered in it the practised pen of De Thou, who had really drawn up the memorial, and who in all matters was the Prince's adviser, as Virey was the energetic instrument of his plans.

Claude-Énoch Virey was one of a class of men whose characters were formed at once by study and by a life of dangers—men often met with in that age, but of whom the mould seems now lost. Whether as antiquary, poet, soldier, doctor of laws, or courtier, he brought to bear upon everything the same courage, the same spirit, and the same

rough-and-ready ways of action; and, unfortunately for his verses, he cared as little for the trammels of prosody and language as for the difficulties of life. The son of a captain of infantry, he had studied the classics at Dijon, in the Jesuit seminary, philosophy in Paris, at the Collége de Navarre, and law at Padua. Devoted to the Catholic religion, but of independent character, he had from the first taken part against the League. At the barricades, he saved the life of the brave Président de Harlay. For three years he fought as a volunteer in the Royal army, and took his part in the thickest of the most glorious battles, at Arques, Ivry, and the sieges of Paris and Rouen. Afterwards he had travelled all over Italy, where he was made a Doctor of Laws. On his return, Harlay, out of gratitude, procured him a post in the educational staff of the young Condé; and when afterwards the household of the Prince was made up, he was retained as private secretary, with the title of Secretary to the King. If it were desired to find among well-known contemporaries a character resembling his—without attaching to the comparison undue importance—we should be disposed to liken him in many of his characteristics to the immortal Cervantes. Only, if he lacked both the genius and the glory of the hero who has left us 'Don Quixote,' he had far better fortune, for he ended his days in wealth and honour, as mayor of his native town.[1]

[1] Châlons-sur-Saône. He was born not actually within the town, but in its neighbourhood, at Sassenay, in 1566. He died on the twenty-fifth of July, 1636. His poems have never been printed; several of them are preserved in MS. in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (MSS. Latin, 58); among others, an account in Latin verse of the flight of the Prince de Condé, with the following title:—'Raptus innocuus, sive Henrici Borbonii Condæi, primarii sanguinis regii Francorum principis, clandestina cum uxore Carola Margarita Mommorantia in Belgium fuga, et ex Belgis in Insubriam per Germaniam occulta profectio, Mediolani com-

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The King's passion. Condé starts off, announcing that he will shortly return with the Princess. Nov. 25. 1609.

Henri IV., who knew him well (for he had served him at a time when it was not difficult for the King to become acquainted with every Catholic volunteer in his army), attributed to his influence the firm tone which Condé maintained, and regarded him with no good will. Accordingly, leaving unnoticed the memorial which he had just handed to him, he took him aside, and reproached him bitterly with the counsels which he had given the Prince, even threatening him with his utmost displeasure if he did not at once alter his course. Virey replied with firmness, for his attachment to the Royal cause had not in any way diminished his independence of spirit, and he was a man with whom the right was the first object. The King then proceeded to speak in indignant terms of the bad conduct of Condé towards his wife, and went so far as to say that if he had been still merely King of Navarre, he would have called out his nephew, and fought him as the Princess's champion. At last he sent away Virey, with many threats, and charged him to tell his master that if he did not yield to the King's will, or if he permitted himself to use the slightest violence against his wife, he would have cause to repent it. Condé made believe that he had submitted, and begged permission to go and fetch the Princess. The King, as might be supposed, granted it readily. Sully alone opposed the permission; for the Prince had lately

moratio, ejusque in Galliam felix reditus; Claudius Enoch Virey Cabilonensis ad Samonam, principis a secretis, carmen itinerarium.' This is followed by a translation into French verse of the first canto of the poem, from whence have been derived many particulars here given. Despite the rudeness of their form, and the uncouth construction of their phrases, above alluded to, the works of Virey are far from being devoid of literary merit. Since this note was written in 1856, M. Halphen has published the 'Enlèvement innocent' of Virey, that is, the translation into French verse by the indefatigable secretary of the first canto of his Latin poem (Aubry, 1859).

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paid him a visit, and from the words he let fall in conversation, the clear-sighted Minister thought he had discovered intentions which were little suspected. But as he was known to have a grudge against the Prince, whom he had never forgiven for some innocent jests, no importance was attached to his opinion. Condé quitted Paris on the twenty-fifth of November.

The King is informed that M. le Prince is carrying off his wife to Flanders, Nov. 29, 1609. Prompt measures taken to stop the fugitive.

Four days after—on the twenty-ninth—about eleven o'clock at night, while the King was at play, the nobleman on duty suddenly entered the apartment and whispered some words into his ear. The King changed colour, rose and entered his cabinet. He had just learned that the Prince had that very morning quitted Muret in a carriage with his wife, with the purpose, it was said, of taking her to a wild boar hunt; but that he had in reality taken the road to the Low Countries. One of the Prince's gentlemen, named Rochefort,[1] who had been brought up with him, Virey his secretary, two young ladies, and three domestics, formed all their suite. It was their guide, a man named Laperrière, who, from fear of the King's anger, had sent off his own son, an archer of the King's body-guard, expressly to tell the whole story at Paris. The moment he heard the news, the King sent in all haste for everyone from whom he thought he could receive either advice or information. The Président de Thou, the Prince's friend and counsellor, and his old tutor Lefèvre, were among the first to be called. In answer to angry questions, De Thou replied that he had known nothing of Condé's projects, and bravely added, that his departure could not be wrongly interpreted, and that he had doubtless withdrawn to the Court of his brother-in-law, the Prince of

[1] Louis d'Aloigny, Marquis de Rochefort.

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Orange. As for Lefèvre, the King drew from him nothing but tears, and the grief of that excellent man had something so ludicrous about it that the merry humour of Henri IV. for a moment mastered his anger. He could not help laughing and bantering him. Meanwhile his ministers and confidential advisers attended at his summons. They found the King pacing up and down his room, his head down, and his hands behind his back. The courtiers ranged themselves silently against the wall, questioning each other by glances, but not daring to speak. He occasionally raised his head. If he noticed some new face, he immediately asked for advice, requiring a reply without time for reflection; and then, without a moment's reflection himself, he simply fell in at hazard[1] with the last advice given him. He was not like himself. It seemed as if a species of delirium were agitating that judgment generally so calm, that mind generally so clear. Contradictory or absurd orders followed each other in quick succession. Thus that very night, without reflecting that it was almost impossible to overtake the Prince, without thinking of the probable effect of such a step, he wrote to Balagny, Governor of Marle, to Du Pesché, Governor of Guise, commanding them to send out the whole strength of their garrisons to capture the fugitive 'wherever he might be.'[2] He then despatched La Chaussée, exempt of the body-guards, with orders to pursue the Prince even over the frontiers, 'and if he should discover him in any town beyond his dominions, the commands of his Majesty to the said La Chaussée are, to address himself to the

[1] See the account of this evening in the 'Œconomies royales.'

[2] Orders of the King to Balagny and Du Pesché, dated evening of Nov. 29. (Bibliothèque impériale. Printed in the collection of 'Lettres missives de Henri IV.')

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governor and magistrates of that city, and to let them know that his Majesty has given him authority by the present order to require and entreat them to have the Prince and his suite arrested in their town and well guarded, assuring them upon his Royal authority that in thus acting they would be doing great service to MM. the Archdukes. . . .'[1] Scarcely had La Chaussée left, when the officer on duty received precisely similar instructions, and was ordered to start at once.[2] Rodelle, D'Elborne, and others were despatched during the night. All these orders had already been given, when Sully, whom the King, much to his dissatisfaction, had caused to be wakened, entered the King's cabinet. He advised that nothing should be done. This was the only reasonable advice that had been tendered, and the only advice that was not adopted. Next morning was spent in regulating the measures that had been so precipitately and incoherently taken. The first thing to be done was to send some explanations to the Archdukes who governed the Netherlands,[3] and to address to them an official demand. This mission was entrusted to Praslain, a captain in the guards, who left in the course of the day.

Condé reache

That very day—the thirtieth of November—at three

[1] Copy of Royal letters patent, dated as above, sent to magistrates of Landrecies. (Archives of Belgium.)

[2] Royal order, dated as above. (Bibliothèque impériale.)

[3] By a decree dated Madrid, May 6, 1598, Philip II. had ceded the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, and the Charolais, as a reversible fief, to his daughter Isabelle-Claire-Eugénie. The Archduke Albert, brother of the Emperor Rodolph, who, under the name of the Cardinal of Austria, was at that time governing the Netherlands, renounced holy orders for the purpose of marrying this Princess. In fact, Albert and Isabella exercised a sort of vice-regal authority, with very extensive powers. Their contemporaries always called them 'the Archdukes.' The principal Sovereigns of Europe, as the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France, had ambassadors at the Court of Brussels.

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o'clock in the morning, Condé reached the territory of the Netherlands, and at seven he and his small escort drew up at the first Spanish fortress of the frontier, Landrecies. Since the departure from Muret, they had scarcely rested even for a few minutes at a village inn, and the rain had been incessant. They had been compelled to leave the carriage in which they travelled on the banks of the Somme, and the Princess had passed fifteen hours on the crupper of Rochefort's saddle. She was wet to the skin, exhausted with fatigue, and unable to go farther. The Prince, thinking himself safe, determined upon a sojourn of twenty-four hours. But next morning, upon his expressing a wish to resume his journey, he was refused passage through the gates. La Chaussée had found the track, had followed all his windings, and had just arrived at Landrecies. He at once exhibited to the Governor his commission from the King, and demanded his assistance in the arrest of Condé. Great was the perplexity of the magistrates, for this was an unprecedented difficulty. It seemed quite out of the question to allow a French police officer to exercise authority within the territory of the King of Spain. But La Chaussée was pressing. The order which he brought showed what great importance the King of France attached to his mission, and the Governor of Landrecies might be incurring a serious responsibility if by resistance he involved his master in a new quarrel with his powerful neighbour. In this dilemma the magistrates determined to refer the matter at once to their superiors, and to retain Condé until they had received further instructions.[1] They only allowed

Landrecies. He is there joined by the agents of the King. Embarrassment of the magistrates.

[1] The magistrates of Landrecies to Archduke Albert. (Archives of Belgium.)

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Rochefort, the gentleman-in-waiting on the Prince, to repair to their Highnesses to crave their protection and hospitality.

The news of Condé's arrival in the Netherlands surprised the Archdukes in their charming retreat at Marimont, and at first caused them considerable annoyance. In vain do men wield supreme authority; they ever seek to escape from its inseparable vexations. Thus the Archdukes refused, not only to give an audience to Rochefort when he presented himself at Marimont, but even to receive the letter which that faithful follower had brought from his master. Both the letter and its bearer were forwarded to the Duke of Arschcot, governor of the province.[1] This functionary took care not to assume the responsibility of deciding in so delicate a matter, and declined for his part to see Rochefort before he had been made aware of the intentions of their Royal Highnesses.[2] Three days were thus expended in journeys, diplomacy, and hesitation. However, something must be settled. Praslain had arrived at Brussels, and was becoming very urgent. Landrecies was filling with French officers and soldiers. Balagny, the officer on duty, and other agents of the King, had arrived with their respective escorts. They were becoming very inconvenient, alternately entreating and threatening the magistrates, or urging the Prince himself to submit with a good grace. Condé showed some uneasiness, and allowed himself to say that he had 'embarked on his voyage without supplies.'[3] But Virey encouraged him to

After some hesitation, the Archdukes authorize the Princess to go on to Brussels; but Condé is obliged to quit the Low Countries, and goes to Cologne, which he reaches Dec. 8.

[1] Condé to the Archdukes; the Archdukes to the Duke of Arschcot, Dec. 1, 1609. (Archives of Belgium.) The Marquis de Guadalete to the King of Spain. (Simancas Papers.) See Appendix, Nos. XIX. and XX.

[2] The Duke of Arschcot to the Archdukes, Dec. 2, 1609. (Archives of Belgium. Appendix, No. XIX.)

[3] Henri IV. to M. de Vaucelas,

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1609 Dec. 3.

remain firm, and at last, on the night of the second of December, Rochefort returned with the long-expected decision. The claims of Henri IV. were repudiated. The Princess was permitted to continue her journey to Brussels, to the house of her sister-in-law, the Princess of Orange. As for Condé, the favour he had somewhat modestly asked—'to kiss the hands of their Highnesses'[1]—was refused him, and he was ordered to quit the Netherlands within three days. The little Court of Brussels thought thus to testify its deference towards the King of France, while at the same time maintaining the rights of nations. As soon as this order was announced to the magistrates of Landrecies, they advised the Prince to quit their town at once. He took their advice, and without waiting for daybreak, was on his road to Namur, and thence by way of Liége, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Juliers, he reached Cologne, where he arrived on the eighth of December, and where he stopped under the protection of the ancient German liberties.

Measures taken by Praslain and Virey. The Princess is placed in security at Brussels, in the Palais d'Orange.

A few hours later his wife also left Landrecies with a small escort, and arrived the same night at the palace of the Prince of Orange, in Brussels. The faithful Virey, who had separated from his master in order to watch over her, was agitated with the deepest anxiety. No order had as yet been received from the Archdukes. They were still at Marimont. The Prince and Princess of Orange had not yet returned from Breda, and their palace was empty. Obscure and unknown to anyone, compelled to disguise himself as a common Italian soldier, Virey was not in a position to afford any protection to the Princess, and he

his ambassador at Madrid, Dec. 5, 1609.

[1] Letter of Condé to the Archdukes, already quoted.

feared lest Praslain, profiting by the first surprise, should put a violent end to his mission by carrying her off. But Praslain was neither prepared nor disposed to violate international rights in such a startling manner. He would at least have required, before taking such a step, the assent of the Prince of Orange; and not despairing of obtaining it, he set off for Breda.

The son and the brother of heroes, Philip-William of Nassau,[1] was himself very disinclined to the performance of heroic deeds. A captivity of twenty-eight years had cramped his character and enfeebled his passions. He desired only to be left in peace to enjoy his great wealth. Praslain thought that by dwelling upon the former good understanding between Henri IV. and the House of Nassau, he could easily persuade the Prince of Orange to yield to the wish of the King. But he failed to see Philip-William, and was obliged to content himself with an interview with his wife, Éléonore de Bourbon,[2] Condé's eldest sister, a Princess of high and energetic character, devoted to her brother; her reception determined Praslain upon making a hasty retreat. On his return to Brussels, he found that a *coup de main* had become impossible. Virey had not

[1] Philip-William of Nassau, eldest son of the great William of Orange, by his first wife, the heiress of Buren, received, upon his birth in 1554, the title of Count of Buren. He was the godson of Philip II., and was pursuing his studies at the College of Louvain, when the Duke of Alva, in 1567, ordered him to be seized and carried off to Spain, where he remained a prisoner for twenty-eight years. In 1584, by the death of his father, he had succeeded to the title of Prince of Orange. After his liberation, he married in 1606 Éléonore de Bourbon, and died without issue in 1618. He took no prominent part in politics. The heir of his father's genius and influence was his younger brother, Maurice of Nassau, one of the greatest captains of modern times. Maurice was the son of William's second wife, Anne of Saxe.

[2] Éléonore de Bourbon, Princess of Orange, born April 30, 1587, died at the Château of Muret, Jan. 20, 1619.

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1609 December.

remained idle. He had put himself into communication with the agent of the Prince of Orange, named Kerman, and the latter had secured a guard to watch his master's palace. Soon, too, Philip of Nassau returned to Brussels, and the Archdukes were hourly expected. Praslain saw that his mission was fruitless, and returned to Paris, where he received but a cold welcome from the King.

Consequences of the steps taken by Henri IV. Opinion of the Spanish ministers, particularly of Spinola.

The rage of Henri IV. had by no means subsided. Already the flight of Condé had been the subject of two lengthy despatches to his ambassadors at Madrid and Rome;[1] a circular letter[2] had been addressed to the governors of provinces, denouncing the 'unworthy resolution' of the Prince. The King declared his determination to put an end to the disobedience of his nephew, accused him of having fomented the troubles that had broken out in Saintonge, and insinuated that his flight had been concerted with the hereditary enemies of the kingdom. For a long time past his intrigues with the Spanish Ambassador had been secretly reported to Sully.[3] But the disorders in Saintonge had had a merely local origin, and were easily repressed. As for the accusation of complicity with the Court of Madrid, the hesitation and the whole conduct of the Archdukes were sufficient fully to acquit Condé. Meanwhile the steps taken by Henri IV. were producing results quite different from those which he seemed to expect. The sending so many agents, and the excited tone of his despatches, seemed to indicate that the Prince's flight might cause him considerable embarrassment, and gave to that event a grave political importance. The Spanish counsellors of the Archdukes, who represented

[1] December 5 and 9, 1609.

[2] December 17, 1609.

[3] 'Œconomies royales,' viii. 98.

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at Brussels the opinion of the Court of Madrid, thinking this a chance not to be lost, blamed the decision of the Archdukes at Marimont in reference to the Prince. Moreover, Castilian honour was hurt at this refusal of protection to an illustrious refugee. Condé himself inspired them with little interest. The misfortune of which he complained was not of a nature to call forth much pity from men; the beauty of his wife disposed many to be indulgent towards Henri IV.; and as for the violence of which he accused the King, and the dangers which he professed to dread, the well-known clemency of Henri IV. prevented anyone from giving credence to this.[1] But the Spaniards could not understand why a French Prince of the Blood should not meet with protection in the territory of the King of Spain, and it seemed to them an unheard-of thing that such a concession should be made to the King of France, when the latter openly afforded protection to every Spanish criminal,[2] and had shown special favour to a traitorous minister, Antonio Perez, justly banished by his offended master. The most keen and influential exponent of this view was the Marquis Ambrose Spinola.

It would be difficult to find in all history a career like that of Spinola. Born at Genoa in 1571, of an illustrious family, but one which had for more than a century withdrawn from public life, and applied itself exclusively to the commerce of the Levant, Spinola had suddenly quitted

[1] 'Era cosa nota ad ogn' uno che il Re non haveva mai trattati i suoi amori, se non per le vie ordinarie; e frà le sue virtù, niuna era predicata più che quella della clemenza.' (Bentivoglio, 'Relazione della fuga di Francia del principe di Conde.')

[2] 'Todos los delinquentes de España.' (Letters of the Marquis de Guadalete and the Marquis Spinola to the King of Spain, Dec. 1609. Report of the Session of Council of State in Madrid, Feb. 13, 1610. See Appendix, No. XX.)

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his desk at the age of thirty, and dedicated his enormous fortune to raise an army which he offered to the King of Spain. Soon after the veteran bands of Flanders beheld with surprise the arrival of a reinforcement of nine thousand trained soldiers, equipped and commanded by an Italian merchant. But their surprise was still greater when they saw that very merchant, who had thoroughly studied the art of war and possessed a powerful intellect, succeeding where everyone else had failed, and giving to the Spanish army that able superintendence which since the days of Farnèse they had lacked. He had shown himself able, unsupported, to hold his ground against Maurice of Nassau and to raise the siege of Ostend. Now that he had been arrested in his victorious career by the truce which had just been concluded with Holland, he endured but impatiently the inaction to which he was reduced, and he would sooner have provoked than have lost an occasion of quarrel between France and Spain. Athirst for glory, and loving a severe struggle, he was eager to come to close quarters with that other great soldier who then governed France. He has also been accused of another motive. It has been supposed—and Henri IV. pretended to believe this—that the valiant Genoese had fallen in love with the Princesse de Condé, and that he was ready to do anything to keep her in Brussels. Contemporary chroniclers attribute to the Princess such irresistible attractions that all who approached her were fascinated by them. The Cardinal Bentivoglio describes the charms of that fair and lovely face[1] with a delight which might make one suspect

[1] 'Era bianchissima, piena di gratia negli occhi e nel volto,' etc. (Bentivoglio, 'Relazione,' etc.)

that this worldly prelate himself had not escaped the common danger. As for the modest Archduke, he never dared to raise his eyes when he conversed with that dangerous beauty.[1] Was Spinola less reserved than the Archduke or more self-possessed than Bentivoglio? It signifies little. Whatever may have been his secret motive, the opinion of such a man could not but carry great weight, more especially when it was in accordance with honour and with the interests of the Spanish monarchy. The Archduke, notwithstanding his reluctance to enter once more into the embarrassments from which the truce with Holland had just delivered him, was compelled to acquiesce in that view.

Condé summoned to Brussels; arrives there December 21.

It was determined to invite Condé to Brussels, under the following pretext. Villeroy had expressed to the Flemish Ambassador in Paris, how greatly the King regretted that Praslain had not been allowed to speak to his nephew. He felt convinced that an interview with the captain of the guards would have brought the Prince to the determination of returning at once to France. The ambassador having received from the King's own lips a confirmation of this language, this was made the pretext for recalling Condé into Flanders. Only the Archduke declined to write to him. This he left to Spinola and to the Spanish Ambassador, in order that he might make it clear that Condé was indebted to his Catholic Majesty. A messenger took these letters to Cologne, and Condé left immediately, arriving at Brussels on the twenty-first of December.

Sorrow of the Princess; her

All honours prescribed by Spanish etiquette were paid to him. He was received with politeness by the Arch-

[1] Letters of Malherbe.

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relations with her husband. Dispositions and steps taken by her family. Intrigues of the King. Fruitless negotiations in order to bring about a reconciliation between him and Condé, who falls more completely into the hands of the Spaniards.

dukes, with affection by his sister and brother-in-law, and with coldness by his wife. The Prince and Princess had never shown much attachment for each other. It had been a marriage of duty. Condé was not of very amiable temper. He was jealous, and if the Princess had done nothing to encourage the overtures of the King, we may suppose that she was not insensible to the homage of so great a sovereign. Long afterwards, in her old age, in retirement at Chantilly during the captivity of her son, she recalled the memory of it, and spoke of it to Lenet with pride and emotion. When she had to leave Muret, she was unable to restrain her tears, and since her arrival at Brussels she was oppressed with a sadness little likely to be dissipated by the first communications with her family. Whether because they really believed in her alleged ill-treatment by her husband, or, as was more likely, out of dishonourable servility to the King, all her relations affected to make loud complaints of the Prince, and the Connétable, though not himself a very tender-hearted man, bemoaned himself over the sufferings of his daughter, and sighed after her return. He despatched to Brussels one of his relations, M. de Boutteville, whose name was destined to be rendered illustrious by a terrible catastrophe and by glorious exploits.[1] Boutteville presented a letter from the Connétable to the Archduke, begging his Highness to 'grant his request,' and to send back his daughter.[2] To the Princess herself he brought money and consolation; but

[1] Louis de Montmorency-Boutteville, Vice-Admiral of France, who died in 1614. His son, François de Montmorency-Boutteville, was beheaded in Paris for duelling in 1627, and his grandson became the Maréchal de Luxembourg.

[2] The Connétable to the Archduke, Dec. 12, 1609. (Archives of Belgium.)

he was doubtless also charged with some message for her from Henri IV., who had also employed other mediators. The Princess of Orange had not been able to close her house against the wife of the Ambassador of France, Brûlart de Berny; this lady had often had access to the Princesse de Condé, and continually spoke to her about the King, who had charged her 'to assist her, and to furnish her with everything she required, only in such a manner that neither the Prince nor any of her own ladies should know anything of it.'[1] Condé was aware of all these intrigues, and he declined to receive Berny. As for Boutteville, who had not expected to see him so soon, 'he received no welcome' from him, and hastened to Paris, where he was no better treated by the King; for 'great folks,' adds Malherbe, who wrote full details of all this to his friend Peiresc—'great folks approve of no course of conduct but according to its result.'[2]

Nevertheless the Prince was unwilling to break with the Montmorencies. He addressed a few touching lines to the Connétable, a long and friendly letter to De Thou, whose friendship was still true to him; and, lastly, replied to his mother, who had written to him expressing her grief and advising him to submit. It was even said that the Princess, in her endeavours to gain the good-will of the King, had offered to go to Brussels and fetch back her son.[3] The Prince's reply was dignified and respectful, although he did not withhold some indignation at his

[1] Henri IV. to M. de Berny. Undated, but probably about the end of 1609.

[2] Letters of Malherbe. Boutteville to the secretary of the Connétable. Brussels, Dec. 23, 1609. ('Archives de Condé.')

[3] The friends of the Dowager-Princesse de Condé were almost unanimous in blaming her son. (See the letter of the Dowager-Princess of Orange to the Duchesse de Thouars. Appendix, No. XXI.)

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mother's line of conduct. But he sent back, without reading it, a long epistle from Sully. It was a sort of manifesto, in very arrogant language, which Condé had already seen, Sully having for several days circulated copies of it all over Paris. The Prince declared that he would hold no sort of communication with 'a man of that temper, whose ordinary custom is to insult everybody;'[1] but he protested that he would receive with respect 'the propositions that it might please his Majesty to make to him—remaining always his subject and humble servant.' It was to that effect that an explanatory memorial was drawn up and sent by him to the ministers of the various foreign Courts present at Brussels, as also a letter to the Pope, in which he implored the protection of his Holiness. Bentivoglio, the Nuncio, in conformity with instructions from Rome, now offered him his good offices in order to bring about a reconciliation with the King. The Archduke did the same; he was afraid of difficulties, and had no confidence in the constancy of French character. He felt persuaded that Condé would decide to return to France just as easily and just as precipitately as he had decided to leave it. He therefore wished to avoid making any engagement with him, and pressed him hard to yield. Henri IV. knew this, and thanked him 'for the trouble that he had taken with his nephew to make him a man of sense.'[2] The agents of his Catholic Majesty themselves set to work to bring parties together, and made a parade of their conciliatory disposition, while in reality charmed to

[1] Sully to Condé, Dec. 9, 1609. Condé to his mother, Dec. 26, 1609. (Bibliothèque impériale. Collection Dupuy.)

[2] Henri IV. to the Archduke, January 1610.

see the prolongation of a situation which they knew to be embarrassing for Henri IV., for they feared his power, and dared not risk an open rupture with him. The Marquis of Guadalete, on his way from Brussels to Madrid, would not pass through Paris without paying his respects to the King, to whom he had already been presented. During the audience, Henri IV. told him that if Condé was not sent back immediately, he would look upon the refusal to give him up as one of the most serious *agravios* that he could receive, and he employed the Spanish term in order to express himself the more plainly. The Marquis bowed, and replied by a Spanish proverb to the following effect: 'To him who understands, few words are necessary;' and he then proceeded to enlarge upon the ridiculous behaviour of Condé at Brussels, accusing him of haunting the lowest taverns arm-in-arm with his own grooms, and talking nonsense about the great things that he would some day do in France. Such at least was the King's version of Guadalete's conversation; but everybody knew, adds the anonymous historian from whom we have taken these details,[1] that 'if his Majesty heard a story at the mouth of anyone, he never failed to improve it in the repetition.' And yet there must have been some truth in Henri IV.'s report, and there certainly was at that time in the minds of certain Spanish ministers a reaction not favourable to Condé. Accordingly, they pressed him to suggest himself the terms of some arrangement. But they could get no definite answer from the Prince. His anxious and hesitating mind would not allow him to attach himself to any party. At one time he declared that he would never

[1] Anonymous Italian narrative. ('Archives de Condé.')

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return to France as long as the present King lived;[1] at another he expressed himself ready to return if he were guaranteed a place of safety in his viceroyalty of Guyenne. A proposal founded on the latter scheme was placed before the King, and at once explicitly rejected. He would not hear any more of places of security. Of all the concessions extorted from the feebleness of the later Valois, none had given more trouble and had been more fruitful of abuses than guarantees of this kind. Henri IV. had long declined to leave to the Protestants, notwithstanding their earnest solicitations,[2] the cities which they already possessed. And certainly Condé was not in a position to obtain from the King that which had only been granted to the Reformed party in compliance with long prescriptive usage—and then only as a temporary measure and with restrictions. Moreover, the King declared that he insisted upon his immediate and unconditional return, promising him only a free pardon.

This reply quite overwhelmed Condé. Spinola, who had never ceased to surround him with attentions, and who had already gained considerable ascendancy over his mind, profited by his present temper of mind to induce him to make a direct appeal for the protection of the King of Spain. The Council of State at Madrid gave a unanimous deliverance in favour of this demand.[3] All that had been already done at Brussels with the real purpose of magnifying and embittering the affair, but without an open rupture with France, and with the

[1] The Archduke Leopold to the King of Spain. Spinola to the same. Dec. 1609 and Jan. 1610. (Simancas Papers. Appendix, No. XX.)

[2] When the latter appealed to the precedent of former reigns, he replied, 'My predecessors feared you and did not love you; I love you and do not fear you.'

[3] Simancas Papers.

seeming purpose of arranging a reconciliation, was approved. His Catholic Majesty charged his ambassador in Paris—Don Innigo de Cardenas—to inform the Most Christian King that he had taken the Prince de Condé under his protection. 'You will tell that King,' continued the despatch, 'that I do so because the Prince is my blood relation; my object is to act as a mediator in the matter, and to contribute all in my power towards the repose and happiness of the Most Christian King. If I were to act otherwise, I should be untrue to those sentiments of love and brotherhood which unite me to him.'[1] The remainder of the despatch, which was addressed to the ambassador alone, left no doubt as to the far from brotherly sentiments which actuated his Catholic Majesty towards Henri IV. At the same moment, Philip III. himself wrote to Condé to assure him of his sympathy, and to accredit to him one of his Council of War, the Count d'Añovar, who was specially charged to watch over the interests of the Prince.[2] On the other hand, Condé undertook not to treat without the concurrence of the Court of Madrid.[3] This was the first step in a path in which it is ever difficult to stop.

About the same period—the end of January 1610—there arrived at Brussels an ambassador extraordinary from Henri IV. It had been known for some time in Paris that the King intended to send to Belgium one of the great personages of his Court, who was in a position at once to support with authority his demand from the Archdukes, and to treat directly with the Prince de

[1] The King of Spain to Don Innigo de Cardenas, Jan. 22, 1610. (Simancas Papers. Appendix, No. XX.)

[2] The King of Spain to the Prince de Condé, Jan. 26, 1610. (Bibliothèque impériale.)

[3] Poem by Virey.

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Condé. The friends of the latter, and even the relations of the Princess, would have desired that this mission should be confided to the Duc de Bouillon, who possessed the confidence of both husband and wife. But the King would not hear of this, and seemed to think of sending the Président Jeannin. At the very mention of his name, the Prince's friends exclaimed loudly. The Président Jeannin—the very man who had gone to fetch the Maréchal de Biron! Henri IV. did not insist, and appointed the Marquis de Cœuvres,[1] who left immediately. He was a man of energetic and unscrupulous character, a great favourite with the King, who loved him above all as the brother of her whom he never ceased to regret—the charming Gabrielle. Cœuvres, moreover, had been very intimate with Condé, who had hastened to write to him, as to one of his surest friends, after his return from Cologne.[2] But he seemed quite to have forgotten his old relations with the Prince, and, during his stay at Brussels, he displayed only a blind and absolute devotion to the will and passions of Henri IV. Immediately on his arrival he renewed the recent declaration of the King, and added, not without causing to the Flemings considerable surprise and displeasure, that if M. le Prince would not submit, the King took for granted that he should immediately be compelled to quit Flanders, and that the Princess should be sent home to her father. It was, he said, under these conditions that the Prince had been recalled to Brussels—a statement which the Archduke absolutely denied. The Prince of Orange now wished to interpose to procure a compromise. Having first obtained the

[1] François-Annibal d'Estrées, Marquis de Cœuvres, afterwards Marshal of France; born in 1573, died 1670.

[2] Letters of Malherbe.

consent of his brother-in-law, he proposed that the King should name a city, either in Italy or in Germany, to which Condé might withdraw, and where he might receive the arrears of his allowance. Cœuvres refused to submit this proposition to the King. It was then presented to him by Pecquius, Flemish Ambassador in Paris.

Steps, direct and indirect, of the King, in order to influence and intimidate the Court of Brussels.

Henri IV. gave audience to this envoy on the third of February. He commenced by declaring that he would grant his nephew neither allowance nor pardon, as long as he remained out of France. He then repeatedly attempted to prove that the Archduke had promised to expel the refugee if he did not submit. But Pecquius perceived the snare, and all the cleverness of the King could not 'draw him into the net, nor make him give any definite promise.' Changing his ground, the King then began to complain bitterly of the conduct of the Government and of the Spanish agents, who allowed themselves to use language most injurious to him, and never ceased to give to Condé not only encouragement but subsidies of money. At length, after allusion to certain pretended manœuvres which had in view the raising of the Huguenots in arms, he closed the interview by trying to impress upon Pecquius that the proceedings of Spain would surely bring down a great storm upon the heads of the peace-loving Archdukes.[1]

No means were left untried in order to intimidate or agitate the little Court of Brussels and their ambassador at Paris. After the King had spoken and threatened, he despatched the Connétable, who in tears related to

[1] Pecquius to the Archduke Albert, Feb. 4, 1610. (Archives of Belgium. Appendix, No. XIX.)

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Pecquius that M. le Prince was illtreating his daughter and 'upbraided her because she did not pay sufficient court to Spinola;' that Rochefort, 'entering the chamber of the Princess, where was also the Princess of Orange, had in their presence, and to their great dismay, proceeded to fire some pistols which he keeps in his pockets, and declared that they were for whoever should illtreat his master.'[1] To the lamentations of Montmorency succeeded those of Madame d'Angoulême, the exhortations of the King's ministers and those—less expected—of his confessor. For even the Père Cotton came in person, not without some embarrassment and many apologies, to beseech Pecquius to mediate and to soften down matters for the good of Christendom.[2] The Pope also was strongly pressed to hasten the return to France of Condé and his wife, if he wished to preserve the peace of the world.[3]

Secret mission of the Marquis de Cœuvres; he is directed to carry off the Princess.

Notwithstanding the number and the activity of the measures he took, Henri IV. doubtless did not deceive himself as to the probability of success. It even seems as if the official mission of Cœuvres had been merely designed as a cloak for another—a secret and yet more serious one—which had for its object to carry off the Princesse de Condé. It was believed in Paris that Charlotte de Montmorency would not make much resistance. Intrigues of every kind, which had for their object to draw her more and more away from her husband, had never ceased. Madame de Berny, kept at a distance, through the vigilance of the Prince, was not

[1] Pecquius to the Archduke Albert, Feb. 10, 1610. (Archives of Belgium. Appendix, No. XIX.)

[2] Don Innigo de Cardenas to the King of Spain, Jan. 27, 1610. (Simancas Papers.)

[3] Simancas Papers, and also Correspondence of Pecquius, *passim*.

allowed to see the Princess any more. But the two ladies who had never left her since her departure from Muret had been bribed.[1] A secretary of the Connétable, Girard, had been continually going to and fro between Paris, Chantilly, and Brussels, carrying letters, advices, and instructions. The King was the life and soul of these manœuvres. The whole of the Princess's family were privy to them. She was daily getting more and more weary of her dull life at Brussels, where no single amusement or distraction broke the monotony of her strict surveillance. Lonely, separated from her relations, and particularly from her aunt, Madame d'Angoulême, who had been like a second mother to her, and whose care she repaid with ardent affection, she regretted her native country, her family, her beautiful home at Chantilly, and the brilliant Court of France, where she had appeared but for a brief moment. She still hesitated, restrained by the bonds of duty and honour, but she was already wavering, and not wholly disinclined to submit to compulsion.

Virey discovers the design of Cœuvres, and comes to an understanding with Spinola to outmanœuvre him. Surprise during the night of Feb. 13, 1610.

A letter from Paris roused the watchfulness of the Prince's servants. Upon a warning from De Thou, given with all the caution which his position and character necessitated, Harlay de Beaumont wrote to Virey, stating that a projected pilgrimage to the environs of Brussels for Candlemas Day was to be the pretext for the abduction. The pilgrimage was countermanded, and Virey redoubled his vigilance. His heart, however, was filled with uneasiness and sorrow; he had been informed that his wife had been arrested, conducted to the Conciergerie, and

[1] 'Asseures Chasteauvert et Filipote que je ne les abandonne point.' (Henri IV. to M. de Preaulx, end of February 1610.) Cf. 'Mémoires' of Fontenay-Mareuil; Bentivoglio, 'Relazione della fuga del principe di Conde,' etc.

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incarcerated with women of bad character; it was added that his son, only nine years old, had also been cast into prison. Means were thus discovered of exaggerating the King's conduct, which was hard and unjust enough. Virey's wife had never been imprisoned, but merely taken before the grand provost of the hôtel, then sent to Châlons, to her father, who was to be answerable for her conduct. His son had been confided to one of his friends, named Dollé, who had promised to keep him at his own house. These rigorous proceedings served only to double the activity of the brave and faithful secretary. He dogged the footsteps of Girard, and was for ever on the watch. Soon after, one of the agents whom he had been compelled to secure as his assistant in this surveillance, a certain Sieur de Vallobre, a gentleman of Avignon who lived at Brussels, formerly a page of the Connétable's, a thorough ruffian, who had been obliged to leave France to escape a criminal prosecution, informed him that the Marquis de Cœuvres had just engaged his services. The information which the Marquis had asked him concerning the state of the country and the town, and the instructions that he had received from him, left him in no doubt that a *coup de main* was in preparation. Spinola alone was warned by Virey, and by his advice Vallobre attached himself more and more closely to the service of Cœuvres. It was discovered that a hole was to be pierced through the city walls, that men were being enrolled, and that horses were being bought up, and even that communications had been opened with some of the Archduke's own body-guard. Vardes, Governor of La Capelle, had just arrived at Brussels, with a lieutenant of the Duc de Vendôme's company. He had been called thither, he

said, by his private affairs; but it was held certain that his mission was to conduct the Princess to his viceroyalty.[1] The danger was becoming imminent. The Archduke had to be warned. As for Condé, in order not to raise an explosion, the scheme was only partly revealed to him. All that was done was merely to arouse in him some vague suspicions, sufficient to induce him to demand that his wife should become an inmate of the archducal palace. This was granted at once, as had been agreed upon.

All the plans of the French Ambassador were frustrated by this. But he could find no excuse for opposing it. He could only try to delay this change of abode, and thus gain time for completing his preparations. This was the expedient he adopted. The ladies of the Princess were devoted to him; they suggested to their mistress to make a request to Spinola which was extremely natural, and which it was thought the polite Marquis could not possibly refuse her. She begged Spinola to allow her what was called 'les violons'—that is, a ball in the palace she was now inhabiting. A delay of a few days would doubtless be necessary to prepare for this fête, and so the stay of the Princess in the hôtel of the Prince of Orange would be thus much prolonged. For amusements of this sort were prohibited by etiquette from being held in the archducal palace. Spinola saw the trap, and found an excuse for refusing. Cœuvres therefore decided to make the attempt at once. The fourteenth of February being the day fixed for the entry of the Princess into the palace, he laid his plans for carrying her off on the night of the

[1] Poem by Virey. Pecquius to the Archduke, Feb. 18, 1610. (Archives of Belgium. Appendix, No. XIX.)

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thirteenth. Spinola was informed only a few hours before, and, this time, everything had to be disclosed to Condé. As was expected, he was unable to master his emotion. Not content with demanding a guard from the Archduke, he filled the palace with his complaints, and ran about the city in a state of distraction, imploring the aid of every passer-by. The Prince of Orange, not less exasperated, summoned his friends to arms, and wished to 'seize and kill the whole crew.' Night came on. Soldiers were shouting loudly to one another. Detachments of cavalry scoured the streets, preceded by torch-bearers. Round the palace and the hôtel of the Prince of Orange guards were stationed and fires lighted. All Brussels was in agitation, and it began to be reported that the King of France was at the gates.

Formal ultimatum addressed to Condé by the French Ambassador.

It is said that the Marquis de Cœuvres was only just in time to escape from the chamber of the Princess, into which he had already forced himself. But as no proof of his intention could be found, he determined to deny everything, and he was very clever at dissimulation. Early next morning he presented himself at the palace of the Archduke to complain of the insult that had been put upon the King, his master, and of the calumnies that had been circulated concerning himself. The Archduke replied, very quietly, that he had given no credence to the reports that had been circulated, but that he could not refuse the pressing demand of Condé for a guard. From the palace the ambassador repaired to the Hôtel d'Orange, to accomplish the act that was to end his mission. There, with much solemnity, accompanied by the Sieur de Berny, Ambassador of the King at the Court of their Royal Highnesses of Flanders, by the Sieur de

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Preaulx, Counsellor of Parliament, and by Manicamp, Governor of La Fère, he delivered to the Prince de Condé a formal indictment, declaring him guilty of high treason unless he submitted immediately to the King. He then retired, leaving with the Prince an official copy of the indictment. The Prince at once took up the pen to reply. He wrote that he was always ready to obey the King's commands as long as he had the security necessary for his own honour, adding that he was incapable of ever undertaking anything against the interests of his Majesty. This declaration was reduced to legal form by a notary, who delivered it to the ambassador. Cœuvres, in a fit of absence, took it without saying anything, but immediately upon glancing at it, he ran after the lawyer and compelled him to take it back, threatening him with his sword. A deed setting forth this refusal was drawn up.[1]

Condé decides to quit Brussels. He entrusts the care of his wife to the Archdukes, leaves in disguise on the 21st of February, and reaches Milan on the 31st of March.

After this scene, Condé feared, or feigned to fear, that his sojourn at Brussels was no longer safe, and left him too much exposed to the consequences of the King's anger. Already Virey and Girard had come to blows, and the comptroller of the household of the Prince of Orange, a man named Charbonne, either bribed or frightened, had left to return to France. Moreover, the position of Condé at the Court of the Archdukes was becoming almost ridiculous since the scandal of the attempted abduction. Many persons, doubtless erroneously, suspected the lady herself of having been an accomplice in it. He decided on quitting Brussels, leaving the Princess to the care of the Archdukes, who swore to him that she should not leave their palace without his consent. This point once

[1] 'Executed in presence of us, Michel Nourrisseur, notary and tabellion.' (Contemporary copy. 'Archives de Condé.')

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decided, it now became a question whither he should go. England and Holland were both closed to him by reason of their intimate alliance with Henri IV. Germany did not offer any very sure refuge. There only remained the states of the King of Spain. Living at Madrid would seem to compromise him too much. So he selected Milan. It was impossible to wait for the permission of Philip III., but the tone of the letters received from Madrid, the attitude assumed at Paris by the Spanish Ambassador, and at Brussels by the Spanish ministers, left no doubt that permission would be at once cordially granted. It was resolved that the journey should be accomplished with all possible secrecy. The Archduke, Spinola, and the Count of Añovar, who had been specially accredited to Condé by the King of Spain, were the only persons taken into confidence. The Prince's suite was to consist of three persons, Rochefort, Virey, and one of Spinola's officers, named Fritima, who had travelled a great deal, spoke several languages, and was to act as guide and interpreter. Condé was anxious also to take his master of hounds, Toiras, an intrepid, robust, and indefatigable man, whom he had known since infancy (he had been his page), and who had very resolutely joined him in his flight from France. But a grave misunderstanding having arisen between him and Rochefort, whom it was impossible to sacrifice after the proofs he had given of his devotion, Toiras was reluctantly sent away to France by the Prince on some pretext. The favour which was shown to him by Henri IV. in the later months of his life has led to the suspicion that when at Brussels he was the King's spy. But we may be permitted to think that the King's good graces had been won by the military qualities which he

had already displayed (he had fought in Holland), and which later on procured him the Maréchal's bâton,[1] — and perhaps a little also to his great knowledge of sport; for Henri IV. passed among his contemporaries not only for the most powerful King, but for the best sportsman in the world.[2]

All these decisions were arrived at very suddenly. On the twenty-first of February Condé secretly left the palace, and took refuge in a private house, where the final preparations for his departure took place. During the night, he left Brussels with his three companions, dressed, like himself, as Walloon peasants. A thick fall of snow, which obliterated their horses' tracks, favoured their flight. The journey was long and hard; the season was inclement, the stages long, and the lodging bad. All, nevertheless, passed off without misadventure. The incognito was well sustained throughout. Only once, in the middle of the Alps, the Prince was recognized by a Dutch merchant, whom the impetuous Virey wished to throw over a precipice. Nothing came of this incident, and on the thirty-first of March Condé entered the Château of Milan.

[1] J. du Caylard de Saint-Bonnet, Seigneur de Toiras, born 1585; became Maréchal de France 1630; died 1636.

[2] On Sully's arrival in England as Ambassador Extraordinary, after the death of Elizabeth, James I. sent him at once half a stag, the first he had killed since his accession to the throne, 'rightly judging,' wrote Sully to Henri IV., 'that your Majesty was the Prince of hunters, since the mere presence in this realm of your representative had been the cause of this fortunate capture;' and the next day, at his first audience, James I., returning to the subject of the stag's capture, said, as Sully tells us, 'that he did not attribute it to myself, M. de Rosny, who am but a poor sportsman, but in my character of ambassador of the greatest King and the mightiest hunter in the world.'

À propos of Henri IV.'s love of the chase, the following anecdote is characteristic of the strange contrasts and peculiarities of the age. At the

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Attitude of Spain in reference to him and Henri IV.

He received there a welcome the solemnity and brilliancy of which had evidently been prearranged. The Spanish Government, which hitherto had appeared resolved to maintain at least the semblance of moderate and conciliatory measures towards Henri IV., had changed its first determination. On the thirteenth of February, the Council of State of Madrid had held a long consultation over the affairs of the Prince de Condé. Misled by the passionate reports of the ambassador, Innigo de Cardenas, calling up the recollections of the Connétable de Bourbon, hoping against all appearances that the Huguenots, and even Montmorency himself, would espouse the cause of the fugitive Prince; finding it, moreover, convenient to cause as much anxiety and embarrassment as possible to the King of France, who had himself never been indisposed to create a thousand difficulties for Spain; the Council had insisted upon the abandonment of all attempts at bringing about a reconciliation between Henri IV. and his nephew, in order that the latter might be withdrawn from Flanders and taken to Milan, in fact materially assisted by his Catholic Majesty. If the King of France, added the Council, was determined to make war on so unjust a pretext, everybody, even his own subjects, would be against him, and his fall would be certain.[1] Orders in conformity with this decision were despatched on all

height of the civil war, in April 1592, the King, bitterly hated as he was, took it into his head, in default of huntsmen of his own, to apply to one of his enemies, inviting him to come and hunt with him, and wrote to one of the League, M. de Vitry: 'On the receipt of this, do not fail to come and join me in a stag-hunt; for most of my people are ill.' This letter, says a contemporary narrative, was shown 'to M. de Guise, who gave him leave to go, because the Béarnais was such a good sportsman;' and Vitry went to Trye with his hounds.

[1] Simancas Papers. (Appendix, No. XX.)

sides. The Count Fuentes, Governor of Milan, had just received a copy of them when Condé arrived there.

The first news which the Prince received from Flanders informed him that the Marquis de Cœuvres had left Brussels almost at the same time as himself. Henri IV. had exhibited to his complacent ambassador but little satisfaction with his conduct, and had even, it is said, called him a fool on his return home. '*Nimirum*,' adds an observer—an unfriendly one, it is true,[1]—'*quia raptus Helenæ non successit.*' In truth, the genuineness of the scheme for abduction was placed beyond doubt. Brûlart de Berny made no secret of it, although he pretended that he had no part in it,[2] and it was discovered that the Princess's maid had already the night before carried her mistress's clothes to the French Embassy.[3] But the ill-success of this enterprise did not discourage Henri IV. Scarcely had it failed before he set on foot other measures, and the docile Connétable renewed his entreaties to the Archdukes.

The Connétable claims his daughter. Mission of Preaulx. Reply of the Archdukes.

At first Montmorency complained bitterly of the mode in which his daughter had been treated in the palace. She had been deprived of the two female attendants whom she had brought with her from France, and the sister of Kermann (the comptroller of the house to the Prince of Orange) had been imposed upon her, although her services were distasteful to the Princess. Added to which she was compelled against her will to receive the visits of Spinola 'the "Genoese"—as the Connétable dis-

[1] Pecquius. Letter of March 1, 1610, to the secretary Praets. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[2] Pecquius to the Archduke, March 10, 1610. *Ibidem.* (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[3] The Archdukes to Pecquius, Feb. 28, 1610. *Ibidem.* (Appendix, No. XIX.)

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dainfully termed him,' which was not befitting, and which gave rise to many remarks. The Archdukes replied that 'neither the Marquis nor anyone else should have access to the Princess' or acquaintance with her. They consented to withdraw Kermann's sister, but declined to let her have back the two Frenchwomen, as they were in a position to prove their treachery. Madame d'Angoulême then proposed to send from Paris some young ladies who would be suitable companions for her niece. This was also refused. Their Highnesses of Flanders, suspecting that the King would have some voice in the selection made by Madame d'Angoulême, founded their refusal on the etiquette of the palace.[1] As to the main point—the alleged captivity of the Princess, the solicitations were no less earnest. The Connétable kept besieging the Archdukes and their ambassadors with appeals both verbal and written.

At the same time this crafty old man conducted himself in this matter precisely as he had formerly conducted himself in the civil wars, and while he was reiterating in public his lamentations over the misfortunes of his daughter, he privately assured Pecquius that he would much rather she stayed with the Infanta than that she should return to his own home.[2] On another occasion he owned to Innigo de Cardenas that his honour would be safe if the King of Spain would maintain the traditional policy of his ancestors.[3] Henri IV., who was quite as shrewd as Montmorency, had seen through his double

[1] Letters of Pecquius of Feb. 23; of the Archdukes of Feb. 28 and March 9. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[2] Pecquius to the Archduke, Feb. 23. *Ibidem.* (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[3] Don Innigo to the King of Spain, April 5, 1610. Simancas Papers. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

game, and wrote that 'his old friend was somewhat unseasonably cold;' 'but,' he added, 'my fire has thawed him.'[1] In short, the official steps taken by the family were all that the King desired, and none of these were refused him. The most important which he obtained was the formal mission of Preaulx.

Charles de l'Aubespine, Abbé de Preaulx, and Councillor of the Parliament, was an able lawyer, at once insinuating and resolute, prepared for any mode of proceeding that would answer his end, and destined to rise to the highest dignity.[2] He had already been despatched on several occasions to Brussels. Quite recently he had accompanied the Marquis de Cœuvres there, and it was believed that he was one of the chief organizers of the attempted abduction. This time he was to act in a kind of unofficial character, as a lawyer defending a father who demanded the extradition of his daughter. Furnished with the requisite powers from the Connétable and Madame d'Angoulême,[3] he appeared before the Archdukes, reminded them of the notorious violence which, he alleged, M. the Prince had used towards his wife, the mode in which he had carried her off from France; dwelt upon the injustice of the captivity in which he now held her; and even dropped a hint that the marriage had never been consummated. All these considerations seemed to justify a demand for a divorce, and nowhere, he said, could the Princess be better placed, to carry out this intention, than under the roof of her parents. The

[1] Henri IV. to M. de Preaulx, about the 20th of February, 1610.

[2] He is better known under the name of Châteauneuf, which he bore later on. He subsequently became Keeper of the Privy Seal. We shall hear more of him hereafter.

[3] Original, s. d. Archives of Belgium.

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Archdukes replied that it was not their business to enquire into the wrongs of the Princess. She had entered their palace by her own free-will, and with the consent of the Marquis de Cœuvres. She would not be allowed to leave without her husband's consent. The Archdukes had formally promised him this. At the same time, if it appeared necessary that she should remove elsewhere during the trial for divorce, they were ready to submit the question to the decision of the Pope.

Petition of the Princess for her liberation. Fresh measures taken by the King towards the Archdukes. It is thought that he will second them by a military display.

This affair was beginning to cause great embarrassment to the little Court of Brussels. To the urgent and quasi-judicial solicitations of Preaulx the Princess joined her own entreaties. Her husband's absence, the tediousness and monotony of her mode of life, and the advice of her family had combined to overmaster her scruples, and she went so far as to sign a very strong petition, which she herself, with a certain degree of formality, presented in person to the Archdukes, in presence of two witnesses, who were no other than Preaulx and Berny.[1] In this petition, after thanking their Highnesses 'for their treatment of her since the time that they had taken her into their palace,' she declared that she would nevertheless 'have grave cause of complaint if they did not allow her to withdraw to the society of those to whom she was so nearly related.' It was upon condition of being allowed this freedom that she had entered the palace. 'Now that she had deliberately determined to set forth plainly, and without longer forbearance, the complaints which her modesty and other strong considerations had hitherto prevented her from revealing, intending to prosecute a divorce

[1] The Archduke to the Prince de Condé. Draft of a letter never despatched, May 14, 1610. (Archives of Belgium.)

from the Prince her husband, she besought their Highnesses to reflect that, considering her rank and her innocency of life, she could not be kept in her present position against her will without great injury to herself and to her relations, to whom she would have recourse for protection, as well as to other quarters whence she might obtain some alleviation of her suffering.'[1] This plainly meant the King. The Princess, in short, was no longer influenced by anyone but Preaulx, who remitted to her letters from Henri IV. couched in the most passionate terms; and it is even said that he was entrusted with the replies of the 'bel ange' to her 'cher chevalier.' The King even made the strangely exacting request that Marie de Médicis would actually herself address a petition to the Infanta Isabella, in favour of the fair captive. But the Queen declined, pretending that it would be unseemly to expose her to a refusal. Henri IV. did not insist, but he did not conceal his dissatisfaction.[2]

Soon afterwards, no longer able to contain himself, he resolved to write in pressing terms to the Infanta and the Archduke,[3] 'to assist his sister the Duchesse d'Angoulême and his cousin the Duc de Montmorency in their endeavours,' reminding them of 'the innocence of her for whom they were appealing, and the unworthy treatment that she had received and doubtless would still receive at the hands of her husband,' begging 'affectionately' the Princess to deliver her grief-stricken parents 'from the anxiety in which they were living.' A fresh pretext had been found in support of these petitions. Marie de

[1] Original, s. d. Archives of Belgium.

[2] Don Innigo de Cardenas to the King of Spain, March 27, 1610. Simancas Papers. (Appendix, No. XX.)

[3] April 19, 1610.

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Médicis was about to be crowned, and it was impossible that they could prevent a Princess of the Blood from fulfilling her duty of being present at the ceremony. Finally, this demand was backed by menaces. Villeroy, who hitherto had always reassured Pecquius when he was becoming alarmed at the whims of Henri IV., reminding him that his master was 'quick with words, but slow with deeds,'[1] now spoke in quite a different strain. 'The King,' said he, 'was seriously and justly irritated at the scene that took place in Brussels on the night of the thirteenth of February. Simply because the governor of an ancient frontier town (Vardes) had visited the city on his own private affairs, all the troops had been set in motion. The Count d'Añovar had run to and fro through the streets, sounding the alarm; and the next day there were only eighteen Frenchmen to be found in Brussels. All this hubbub, it was well known, was the work of Spinola, who wanted to play the soldier (*sic*); but the Archdukes had made themselves his accomplices. The King had received a serious insult, and he was quite entitled to demand satisfaction.'[2] The gravity of these speeches was enhanced by the great warlike preparations that were going on in France. There were not wanting those who gave out that the abduction of the Princess was the object of these formidable preparations. Henri IV., they insisted, had 'promised his *compère*[3]

[1] Pecquius to the Archduke Albert, Feb. 4, 1610. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[2] Several despatches (abridged) of Pecquius, dated February and March 1610. *Ibidem.* The Chancellor and the President Jeannin used the same language as Villeroy. (See Appendix, No. XIX.)

[3] *Compère* = 'old friend.' The literal meaning is fellow-sponsor at a baptism. It was the nickname given to Montmorency by Henri IV.

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to lend him his army to help him to get back his daughter.'[1]

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If Malherbe and his verses are to be believed, there is no doubt that love was the only motive of Henri IV.:

Fresh verses by Malherbe. Notwithstanding assurances to the contrary, the passion of the King is more demonstrative than profound.

Mon soin n'est point de faire
En l'autre hémisphère
Voir mes actes guerriers,
Et jusqu'aux bords de l'onde
Où finit le monde
Acquérir des lauriers.

Deux beaux yeux sont l'empire
Pour qui je soupire ;
Sans eux rien ne m'est doux ;
Donnez-moi cette joye
Que je les revoye,
Je suis Dieu comme vous.[2]

And indeed more serious evidence seems to bear out the poetical assertions of Malherbe. In the despatches addressed by the Flemish and Spanish Ambassadors to their respective governments, the passion of the King of France for the Princesse de Condé holds the first place. The envoy of his Catholic Majesty especially, Don Innigo de Cardenas, expected every day to behold Henri IV. marching on Brussels at the head of a large cavalry force. According to him, the kingdom was turned upside down by this passion. The Huguenots were about to rise. The whole of France was disgusted. The Queen had decided to head the malcontents. He describes Henri IV. as a madman, ready to sacrifice even his crown to his passion, deprived alike of reason and of sleep, calling out the name of his beloved all night long, spending whole

[1] 'Letters' of Malherbe. The same *on dit* is used by Pecquius to the secretary Praets (March 16, 1610; Archives of Belgium; Appendix, No. XIX.), and the King, in various conversations, confirmed the truth of this report.

[2] Malherbe's 'Poésies,' vol. ii. p. 22. (Barbou edition.)

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days in conversation about her with the comptroller who had just left Condé.[1]

The King himself pretended to be engrossed and undone by his passion. 'I am so worn out by these pangs,' he wrote to Preaulx, 'that I am only skin and bone. Everything dissatisfies me. I avoid company, and if, in order to observe the usages of society, I allow myself to be drawn into some assemblies, instead of giving me pleasure, they completely kill me.' It was this simulated state of prostration which Malherbe celebrated in the following lines, perhaps the most charming which he wrote in connection with this miserable amour:—

Ainsi le grand Alcandre, aux campagnes de Seine,
Faisoit, loin de témoins, le récit de sa peine,
Et se fondoit en pleurs;
Le fleuve en fut ému; ses Nymphes se cachèrent
Et l'herbe du rivage, où ses larmes touchèrent,
Perdit toutes ses fleurs.[2]

But it is not always necessary to attribute to poets historical accuracy, and even diplomatic documents—a much more authentic source of information—must be read with caution. Allowance must be made for the opinions, for the character, and for the position of the writers. Especially in a matter of this kind, we must remember that few men can resist, when they have the

[1] These details, repeated in several of Don Innigo's despatches, are mentioned more precisely in his letter of March 14, 1610, to the King. Simancas Papers. (Appendix, No. XX.)

[2] Malherbe's 'Poésies,' vol. ii. p. 27, Barbou edition. But the editor is wrong in placing the composition of this piece in 1609, before the flight to Brussels. Malherbe sent it to Peiresc, as a novelty, Jan. 5, 1610. We cannot multiply quotations from it, but still must quote the following stanza (vol. ii. p. 29), which reads like a translation of Preaulx's letter:—

Aussi suis-je un squelette,
Et la violette
Qu'un froid hors de saison
Ou le soc a touchée
De ma peau séchée
Est la comparaison.

opportunity, the temptation to detail and exaggerate reports of a scandalous nature; in addition to their own pleasure in so doing, they are apt to give way to the desire of entertaining their readers. Don Innigo was a vain and irritable man, and full of illusions. He was a very bad French scholar, and as Henri IV. knew very little of Spanish, they conversed together without understanding the half of what each one said.[1] These interviews, full of repartees, were not calculated to enlighten very clearly a mind already much confused. In the official accounts of the meetings of the Spanish Council of State, which were quite clear, are to be found traces of the distrust with which the accounts of this ambassador were received.[2] The Flemish Envoy, Pecquius, was in nowise more kindly disposed towards Henri IV., and he was also fond of exaggerating the passionate outbursts of the King. Sometimes, too, he deluded himself with absurdities, as when he went so far as to believe that in the event of war, he could easily arrange to have Lyon and Marseille given up to him.[3] But altogether he was much more shrewd than his colleague, although the latter treated him as a blockhead,[4] and the immediate danger which threatened his country, while it probably deepened his fundamental hatred, imposed on him a seeming moderation, which Don Innigo willingly mistook for weakness.

[1] Pecquius to the Archdukes, April 7, 1610. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[2] See the deliberation of April 10, 1610. Simancas Papers.

[3] Pecquius to the secretary Praets, March 1610. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[4] 'Tengo como balordo el que aqui serve el archiduque.' (Despatch of Jan. 27, 1610. Simancas Papers.) Don Innigo, who doubtless denied to one of his master's vassals the right of accrediting an ambassador to the Court of France, always described Pecquius thus:—'Celui qui sert ici l'archiduc.'

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Unlike the impetuous Castillian, he rarely quarrelled with the ministers of the King; he listened to them and watched them more carefully; he was astonished when he found them at once uneasy, gloomy, and intractable, taking the worst view of everything, but always avoiding serious discussion. When they, so far from attempting to deny the infatuation of their master, pretended to deplore it, and dwelt with somewhat of affected emotion upon the evils that thereby threatened Christendom and especially the Low Countries, if the Princesse de Condé remained in Brussels, Pecquius could not but perceive that the intention was to intimidate their Highnesses and to 'shake their resolution.'[1] He was quite confounded one day, when, having consulted with Villeroy as to 'the means of remedying the business of the Princess, and extracting this great thorn,' Villeroy suddenly turned upon him with the words, 'It is not on account of the Princess that you will have war, but on account of the Prince de Condé. The King is taking up arms because it is sought to make his nephew into an instrument for overthrowing his kingdom.'[2] 'Let the Princess return to France,' said the Chancellor on another occasion, 'three or four thousand men will be enough to settle the affair of Juliers.' But scarcely had Pecquius expressed assent to the views of his interlocutor, when the aged minister interposed: 'Especially let not their Highnesses attempt to make a demonstration of resistance to the passage of the French troops through their territory; that would spoil everything.'[3] If the ambassador spoke of renewing

[1] Pecquius to the Archduke, April 19, 1610. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[2] April 7, 1610, and *passim*.

[3] Pecquius to the Archduke, April 30, 1610. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

the neutrality of the two Bourgognes, a thousand pretexts were found for putting off the convention.[1] This refusal to conclude anything, or even to particularize anything, was a symptom significant enough to strike even the most unsuspecting. It was evident that very different motives were at the bottom of the entire dispute than the miserable affair that caused so much noise. Despite his efforts to persuade himself of the contrary; notwithstanding the accounts (voluntarily despatched or otherwise) which he received from various quarters, Pecquius could not but feel that the amorous passion of the King was not the true motive of his policy. A perusal of the despatches of that envoy enables us to see that the double game was being played of trying to intimidate the Archdukes by menaces and to disarm them by false hopes, without entering into any definite engagement with them. Doubtless it was desired to force them into giving prompt satisfaction to the demands of the Connétable; but the attempt was further being made to prevent them from making any preparation for resisting the first movements of French troops. At last it became evident that neither the concession that was demanded from them, nor the passive attitude which it was desired they should assume, was sufficient to avert the storm that threatened the House of Austria.

As for the assertions of the King himself, it is certain that he never was more robust, active, or equal to work than he was at the very moment when he said that he was 'worn out with these pangs.' The letter to Preaulx

[1] Correspondence of Pecquius, *passim*.

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was a demonstration, evidently intended to excite the pity of the 'bel ange.' The verses of Malherbe were written to order, and the correspondence of the poet shows the impatience with which the King waited for them. He was not content with an ode; he had asked for an elegy, and then for a song; he himself determined to choose the airs, and he had employed the assistance of several musicians. While he was writing to the Connétable for news of his daughter, he did not forget to remind his *compère* 'to get the horses that he had promised him into good condition.'[1] This recollection of the horses, this frivolous eagerness, this extreme interest in music, are not the characteristics of an all-absorbing passion. No; if Henri IV. found an unworthy gratification in occupying his thoughts with the Princesse de Condé; if he continued to pursue, with a slightly affected fervour, the satisfaction of a senile caprice, his mind had nevertheless regained its habitual self-possession, and his policy remained unchanged. That the Low Countries were to be invaded, sooner or later, according to circumstances, no one who has studied the policy of Henri IV. can for one moment doubt. Even if he had never fallen in love with the Princesse de Condé, the final result would have been the same. That the King's ministers should be divided in opinion; that some should be grieved and others alarmed by his resolutions, which were in all probability neither known nor understood properly by the majority among them; that this state of mind, and the desire of restraining their master from his

[1] The King to the Connétable, April 29, 1610. The passion of Montmorency for horses is well known. He was himself one of the most skilful of horse-breakers, and was the patron of the celebrated Pluvinel.

perilous course, should appear in their communications with foreign ambassadors;—all this is what has occurred again and again in the councils of all Princes on the eve of great enterprises, and can never be taken as a ground for misconstruing the real intentions of Henri IV. It may indeed be believed that the King, without any change in his main scheme, without even precipitating its execution, would have been glad to avail himself of the entry of his army on a campaign, undertaken for his real object, to put an end by a *coup de main* to the alleged captivity of the Princesse de Condé. But if he had any serious intention, as was asserted, of seizing Brussels with a body of cavalry, of bombarding the gates of the city, and of carrying off by sheer force her whose return he so clamorously demanded, he was far too consummate a master of the art of petty warfare to allow such hints and intimations, direct and indirect,[1] to reach the ears of the Archdukes as would have rendered success impossible. These rumours, these warnings, appearing sometimes in the shape of menaces, sometimes as mysterious disclosures, formed a part of the system of intimidation which was designed to induce the Court of Brussels to give up a deposit which was becoming more and more burdensome; and this system was succeeding tolerably well, for the Archdukes appeared day by day more disposed to yield, and quietly to withdraw from their unfortunate course; they were only anxious for some arrangement by which their honour should be saved. On the other hand, the King had never given up the plan of a clandestine

[1] See the entire correspondence of Pecquius during March and April, and especially his letters to the Archdukes of the 28th and 30th of April. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

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abduction, to be accomplished through bribery, and his last note to Sully[1] shows that he was engaged in arranging for the expenses of some enterprise of this nature. It was not, we must allow, by the most dignified means, nor with the frank and generous boldness of a Tristan or a Launcelot, that Henri IV. wished to win back her with whom he fancied himself in love. He might amuse himself by causing a lady's monogram[2] to be embroidered on his clothes without any nearer resemblance to the Knights of the Round Table. But on the other hand we have a right to say, it was not in the capacity of a knight that he was going to make war, but in that of a great soldier and a great king. No amorous caprice prompted or modified his policy. When we study the detail and perfection of his military preparations, the largeness and sagacity of his combinations; when we enquire into the resources which he had accumulated, the alliances which with such foresight he had secured; and finally, when we contemplate the position of France and of Europe at that time, the chivalrous romance which has been fathered upon this most unromantic nature must fall to pieces.

We have related, without any disguise, the miserable story of the last amours of Henri IV. We have exposed his weaknesses and his odious conduct towards Condé. Truth required us to do so. Moreover, while it is painful to dwell thus on the faults of a great man, so truly and so deservedly popular, it is yet a salutary lesson to learn that unrestrained licentiousness can harden the best hearts, and that even the loftiest and most steadfast natures cannot withstand that moral intoxication which

[1] May 2, 1610.

[2] Pecquius to the Archduke, April 16, 1610. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

results from the habitual exercise of absolute power. Let us, moreover, bear in mind that through all the irregularities of his private life, widely as he allowed himself to be led astray from principle, Henri IV. never forgot his duties to his people. No sovereign ever displayed in the management of the great affairs of his country, both internal and foreign, more entire freedom from personal and selfish motives.

True aim of Henri IV.'s armaments. His policy, alliances, and resources.

Never had France been more flourishing. The prosperity which succeeded forty years of continued civil war would have seemed incredible, if we did not all know with what marvellous rapidity our country rallies from her sufferings and repairs her faults or her misfortunes. Now for the first time the kingdom was really governed; the finances were conducted according to principles and rules which are now out of date, but which contrasted so strongly with the disorganization of former times, that the results seemed unprecedented. Agriculture, which was warmly encouraged, took so great a start, that at no period of our history has it ever made such progress, and a celebrated agriculturist could without flattery speak to the King 'of the great profit of your people, which dwells securely under its fig-tree, cultivating its own land, protected by your Majesty, who has at your side justice and peace.'[1] Justice and peace—these were the great blessings of the reign of Henri IV.

There were, it is true, still some malcontents, but no more partisans. A severe example had taught the aristocracy that conspiracies would no longer be tolerated. The nobility, held in check without being oppressed or humiliated, was becoming accustomed to reverence the

[1] 'Théâtre d'Agriculture.' By Olivier de Serres.

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laws. The meetings of the 'Notables' had been held; the magistracy was supported, not enslaved; the townsfolk felt that they were protected and free; and lastly, the common people knew that the King would like 'that every labourer should be able to put a fowl into his pot on Sunday.' The King might justly be charged with many weaknesses and a few unkindnesses, his government was doubtless imperfect; but he answered the needs of the age, nothing was exaggerated, and, if the country had continued in the same course, much progress might have been hoped for, many evils might have been averted.

Already France, and France alone, enjoyed the first, the most sacred of all liberties—liberty of conscience; at a time when throughout the whole of Europe, Catholic and Protestant alike, the faith of the minority was persecuted without mercy, our country gave to the world the noble example of legislation the sincere practice of which protected equally both religions.

But this kingdom, which Henri IV. was bent upon rendering so prosperous and so strong, was exposed to one constant danger. It was in the power of a single great man at Madrid, of a second-rate king, or of internal dissensions in France, to overturn everything, and seriously to menace the independence of the nation. The Low Countries and Franche-Comté belonged to a sovereign who reigned at Madrid, at Milan, and at Naples, and who had at his command the gold of America. The King of Spain was bound to the Emperor of Germany by all the ties of relationship, parentage, and intimate alliance. It was no longer the monarchy of Charles V., it was not even the united policy—often very able—of Philip II.

and Ferdinand. But notwithstanding the mediocrity of the existing sovereigns, the two branches of the House of Austria held at their disposal such vast dominions and such enormous resources; their adversaries were so divided; the leagues of petty princes who were opposed to them were so often and easily dissolved, that it required forty years of the most bloody warfare that ever devastated modern Europe to procure the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, the original basis of that which is now known as the 'balance of power in Europe.' CHAP II. 1610

It was this balance of power that Henri IV. laboured to establish. This was 'the great enterprise' of which he spoke to his confidants, the 'European Republic' that he wished to create. This was the aim of that policy of which he was the true founder, a policy which François I. had partially foreseen, but which neither he nor his son had known how to apply successfully, and which in the religious wars had been entirely forgotten. Richelieu was destined to follow it up and to practice it with greater obstinacy than success. Continued also by Mazarin and upheld by the sword of Condé and of Turenne, it finally triumphed, to the honour of France. The attempt to carry it to extremes almost ruined Louis XIV.

The ideas of Henri IV., as Sully has detailed them for us, may seem in some respects fanciful; and doubtless when he was talking confidentially with his faithful friend, he allowed himself to be carried away by the warmth of his Southern imagination; but in that pre-eminently French nature, imagination was tempered by good sense. Theory with him was always corrected by practice. Ardent on the field of battle, he was patient in council. The scheme of freeing Europe from the domination of

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the House of Austria, and of giving to France her rightful place in the world, he cherished from the time of his accession to the throne, and while he was establishing order and peace in his kingdom, he was unceasingly preparing to carry out his lofty design, only waiting to act until every chance should favour him. Immense resources were accumulating; the management of the finances and the command in chief of the artillery were combined in one person, and the King exacted a minute account of the state of each of these branches of the service, which he had entrusted to the wise and unvarying care of Sully. At the beginning of 1610, the reserve in bullion had reached the then fabulous amount of forty-three millions,[1] and the arsenal contained a depôt of arms and warlike material to which no other in Europe could be compared. The corps of cavalry and the old regiments of infantry were carefully maintained and the kingdom teemed with men fit for service, with officers who had been trained in the civil wars or had completed their military education in the admirable school of Maurice of Nassau. Finally, fresh treaties, concluded with the Swiss and the Grisons, assured to France alone the valuable assistance of these little republics, and allowed the King to augment rapidly the contingent that had been already furnished to him by these brave mountaineers.

Outwardly, he had the sympathy of England. The energetic and intelligent assistance of Elizabeth was not

[1] Deposit at the Bastille . . . . . 24,000,000 livres.
In the hands of the Treasurer of the *Épargne* . 8,800,000 „
Well-assured debts . . . . . 10,338,490 „
Total . 43,138,490 livres.
(Accounts, audited Jan. 10, 1610. 'Œconomies royales.')

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to be looked for from James I. Personally he inclined to a Spanish alliance; but already public opinion was too pronounced and too strong for him in his own dominions to permit of his taking part in a war against the ally of the House of Austria. In short, Henri IV. was certain of finding in James I. as much support as was to be expected from an irresolute, timid, and unstable prince, who was besides embarrassed by internal dissensions in his kingdom. The King could depend entirely on the Dutch and the Protestant Princes of Germany; indeed the difficulty was rather to restrain them from acting before the opportune moment than to urge them forward. In Italy diplomatic successes appeared less probable. Of all the sovereigns in Europe, none seemed to receive with less confidence the projects of Henri IV. than the Pope. As for the Duke of Savoy, he had, even after Spain, prolonged to the last the conflict with France. But a few promised concessions and a few hopes held out on the subject of the throne of Naples, had disarmed the repugnance of Rome; and the King, who always took his own personal grievances very lightly, had left nothing untried in order to change the temper of the Duke of Savoy. The hereditary ambition of his House had been aroused; the Milanese had been promised him; a double marriage was to unite the two Crowns; so that Charles-Emmanuel had actually become one of the most active agents in the French policy. Venice and the Duke of Mantua had been drawn into the general movement. The hope of sharing the spoils of Spain had thus secured to Henri IV. the assistance of all the independent States of Italy.

Every day the mistakes of the Austrian Princes were

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assisting the cause of the King of France. Certain symptoms betrayed the want of union that existed between the Archdukes; serious internal troubles were agitating their States, and ill-timed measures were daily hastening to a crisis the dissatisfaction of the Protestant Princes. Spain was giving just umbrage to the Duke of Savoy; she was augmenting her own internal difficulties by the expulsion of the Moors—an act as barbarous as it was infatuated. Finally, a King of the Romans was about to be elected, and Henri IV. did not despair of carrying off the prize of the Empire from his enemies. Now was the time for action; the preparations were complete, and circumstances were pre-eminently favourable. The opening up of the succession to the Duchies of Clèves and of Juliers occurred—at the close of 1609[1]—in time to furnish Henri IV. with a pretext, hitherto wanting.

At once the subterraneous work, which had so long been in hand, was completed in the light of day. Several treaties, concluded within a few months, displayed to astonished Europe the formidable system of alliances which the King had so ably arranged. While the union, formally agreed upon at Halle, between France and the Protestant German Princes, was disquieting the councils of the Emperor, the little Court of Brussels was informed on one side that the veteran bands of Holland were assembling, and that Maurice of Nassau would soon be on the confines of the Provinces with fifteen or twenty thousand excellent soldiers, on another that at Paris military preparations were being pushed forward with

[1] The old Duc de Clèves had died March 24, 1609. But it was not till the autumn of the same year that the acts of the Imperial Government rendered the collision imminent.

great activity, and that all the roads from France were choked with troops. It was not yet known where the King was to strike the first blow; but that he meditated some great and distant enterprise in person could no longer be doubted. He had just nominated a Council of Regency to administer the government of the kingdom during his absence.

Henri IV. demands of the Archdukes a passage for his army through Luxembourg.

Very soon all uncertainty was at an end in Brussels. Henri IV. had appointed the rendezvous for his army at Châlons; his advanced-guard was at Mézières. He had announced that his troops would skirt the territory of their Highnesses, and would at certain points pass through it, on their way to Juliers [1] through Liége. He was asked indirectly if he would be content to allow his army to defile by successive companies through the States. But he rejected the proposition, declaring that such a mode of march would be unbecoming his dignity; he intended that his army should march through in a body. Every day he was on the point of communicating his intentions officially to the Regency of the Low Countries, and he determined to treat a refusal as a declaration of war.[2] This news caused the greatest uneasiness to the Archdukes. As it reached them accompanied by a continuation of the old menaces in case the Princesse de Condé were not promptly restored to her parents, some of the ministers of Albert and Isabella ventured to advise the disarming of the King by the concession of this point on which he seemed to have set his heart. Pecquius had just sent off a sort of casuistic discussion of the question, written by the hand of Père Cotton, in which that

[1] Juliers was already occupied by the Archduke Leopold; but he had a very small retinue.

[2] Pecquius to the Archduke, April 19, 26, 28, etc. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

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reverend Jesuit, expressing himself this time very plainly, set forth that their Highnesses might with a good conscience not actually send back, but allow the lady whom they had promised to keep safe to escape;[1] such an authority had great weight with such devout princes as their Highnesses. But other counsellors of a bolder stamp advised that to all demands and to all insinuations a direct refusal should be returned. Spinola insisted upon this last course, and advised an immediate appeal to arms. In his opinion, the King, if once master of Juliers, would be invincible; he would occupy a commanding position, whence he could take either the Netherlands or Germany in flank, and menace either with an irresistible invasion. He would be reinforced by fifteen or sixteen thousand Dutch veterans, and this reinforcement would be led for him by Maurice of Nassau, whom he had already nominated his Lieutenant-Général. Moreover, Spinola knew by experience how valuable such a reinforcement was. A general of the highest order, an engineer and a tactician, Maurice of Nassau had become familiar, in his long contest with the Spaniards, with all the secrets of their strategy, and the Genoese Spinola would have preferred dealing with only one adversary, whom he was far from despising, but whom he was perhaps too much inclined to estimate only by the checks that he had received from the Duke of Parma.[2]

[1] The same to the same, April 28. Archives of Belgium. (Appendix, No. XIX.)

[2] Spinola also attached perhaps too much importance to a clever stratagem which he had himself played off upon the King. After the capture of Ostend, in the winter of 1604, when summoned to Madrid to receive the congratulations of Philip II., he had passed through Paris. Henri IV. had expressed a wish to see him, and, with affected carelessness, questioned him as to his plans for the next campaign. Spinola was aware of the King's intimacy with

He did not value sufficiently highly the King's faculty of observation, nor the experience he had gained; and yet Spinola might have learned from the Spanish officers themselves that Henri IV., in his later encounters with them, had continued to display as much bravery as at the siege of Paris and Rouen, but that he was a much greater master of his art. In the engagements near Amiens, when he recaptured that city in August and September 1597, he had manœuvred with a skilfulness and sagacity which had rendered fruitless all attempts of the Cardinal-Infant to succour the town; for, as he used to say to Sully, he had not forgotten the tricks that the Duke of Parma had played him. Besides, the forces already assembled at Châlons were imposing, and very far superior to those at the command of the Archdukes. The King's army numbered upwards of thirty-five thousand men, with thirty guns splendidly mounted,[1] his

Maurice of Nassau, and, divining his intentions, he unfolded to him his real plan of campaign. What he foresaw came to pass; Henri IV. did not fail to inform Maurice of the conversation, and add that the Genoese would certainly do the exact reverse of what he had said. The Dutch commander made his arrangements accordingly; and was very disagreeably surprised on finding that his adversary pursued precisely the very course which he had announced to the King. Henri IV. had the bad taste to show himself affronted at this procedure. Shortly afterwards, when it was reported to him that the dowager Princesse de Condé purposed to visit Brussels, that she might be, as she said, beloved by the Biron of Flanders (meaning the Marquis) as she had been by the Biron of France, 'It is too great an honour for that tradesman,' replied the King, petulantly, 'to compare him to the Maréchal.' In our opinion, the comparison was very flattering to Biron.

[1] These figures apply only to the troops mustered at Châlons. According to Sully's returns, the King had:

French and Swiss troops . . .	44,000 infantry 5,600 cavalry 50 guns
Troops furnished by the several confederated States (not counting the Pope, the King of England, and several German Princes)	54,000 infantry 7,000 cavalry 45 guns.

In all about 110,000 men and 95 guns, which were to form the two

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cavalry was magnificent, his infantry in perfect order, and the crowd of volunteers who craved the honour of serving under him was such that men of high birth and officers of great experience had been compelled to accept inferior rank. In face of such forces, open resistance was impossible, and the Archdukes resolved to try the expedient proposed to them in order to stay the torrent.

Up to this time they had disputed their ground inch by inch; supported by the secret encouragements of the Connétable, they had exhibited a highly praiseworthy firmness. To the first demands presented by Girard, as well as to the official *ultimata* of Preaulx, to the King's letters and to the Princess's petition, they had always returned the same answer, and pleaded their compact with the Prince. But the danger was now too pressing; the Archduke wrote to Condé and gave him to understand that the moment had arrived when they could no longer hold out. 'Having taken into consideration,' were his rather heartless words, 'the little affection that the Princess displays towards yourself, insomuch that since your departure she has never been persuaded to receive or to read one of your letters to her; considering this, and also the disgust, weariness, and displeasure that the said Princess shows increasingly day by day at being detained in our keeping; we are compelled to notify this to you, that you may think seriously about it, and give

armies of the Meuse and of the Alps respectively.

If to them we add the troops to be furnished by the Holy See, by England, etc., as well as the army intended to operate on the line of the Pyrenees, which, however, was not yet called out, the total amount of the forces which were to enter into action may be estimated at upwards of 220,000 men. (See the learned 'Histoire du règne de Henri IV,' by M. Poirson.)

us forthwith an answer of some sort satisfactory to the demand of the Connétable.'[1] In Paris the language of the diplomatic agents was couched in a similar tone. Pecquius seemed more anxious than ever for a reconciliation, and did not scruple to say that the Princess would soon quit Flanders. Don Innigo de Cardenas suddenly assumed a conciliatory disposition, and proposed to write to Condé, advising him to go to Rome, and not any longer to oppose the return of his wife to France.[2] But this change of tone and these overtures in nowise modified the plans of Henri IV. He became milder and spoke in a friendly tone of the King of Spain,[3] but his military preparations did not slacken. It became evident that he had other things in his mind than his passion, and that the deliverance of the fair captive held but a very secondary place in his schemes. This he no longer cared to hide. When the Nuncio, who, it seemed, was much more given to the Spanish policy than the Pope himself, sought an interview, and spoke with considerable warmth of his great preparations and of their supposed object, the King replied that he was indeed preparing for war, but for a 'State war'—not a war for religion or for love.[4] At Madrid uneasiness took the place of confidence. Don Innigo, when urged to express himself plainly as to the hopes he had excited, was compelled to

[1] Original minute. (Archives of Belgium.) As the death of the King occurred immediately after this letter was written, it was never despatched, and was replaced by a much shorter and far from urgent letter.

[2] Don Innigo to the King of Spain, May 7, 1610. Simancas Papers. (Appendix, No. XX.)

[3] 'Dixóme el nuncio que echa de ver notablemente en el Rey mucha diferencia destos dias passados, porque le halló muy dulce y hablandole muy claramente en que deseava la amistad de V. Mª.' (Don Innigo to the King of Spain, May 7, 1610. Simancas Papers. Appendix, No. XX.)

[4] Don Innigo to the King of Spain, March 18, and April 27, 1610. *Ibidem.* (Appendix, No. XX.)

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acknowledge, that notwithstanding a few sore points, the Huguenots were on the whole disposed to remain steadily faithful to the King of France, and that nothing was to be expected from such an irresolute old man as Montmorency.[1] He was ordered to do everything in his power to delay and embarrass Henri IV. The Père Cotton, who had been content to see his Royal penitent making love to the Princesse de Condé, but who wished above all things to keep him from attacking the House of Austria, set about trying to discourage him. He had for some time given out that both he and his brethren considered themselves subjects of the King of Spain.[2] The Queen, who was under the same influence, was also anxious to put in a word against the war. The King at last in anger replied to her that neither she nor the Jesuit fathers could forget the name of the Catholic King, and that such madness would be her ruin.[3] Henri IV. was evidently not to be shaken. The Archdukes understood him, and now, trying only to avert the violence of the first blows, they consented to the French army, at present assembled in Champagne, passing through Luxembourg.[4]

[1] Don Innigo to the King of Spain, April 5, 1610. (Simancas Papers.)

[2] 'Que eran sus hombres hijos de V. M^d.' (Jan. 27, 1610. *Ibidem.*)

[3] 'El Rey respondió . . . que á la Reyna ni á los Padres Jesuitas no era posible sacalles del coraçon el nombre de V. M^d, y que ella por esta locura se havia de perder.' (*Ibidem.*)

[4] Sully ('Œconomies royales,' c. 198, t. ii. p. 338 B) details the very terms in which this assent would have been granted. At the same time we must note that the formal demand for a passage was not signed by Henri IV. till the 8th of May, 1610, and that the answer from Brussels could not have arrived before the death of the King, who was assassinated on the 14th. Had there been in the beginning of the month an official correspondence on this subject and an interchange of notes between the ambassadors? This is what it has baffled us to determine; for Pecquius's letters, at least those of May 1610, have disappeared from the Archives at Brussels. But the

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Bullion, French Ambassador at Turin, is charged to watch Condé, who is living in Milan.

This was not the only army which the King had ready for action. The Spanish monarchy was threatened on every side. On the side of the Pyrenees by which the Moors were to be introduced, an army was assembled under La Force, and Lesdiguières was ready to cross the Alps with fifteen or twenty thousand men who would join the troops of the Duke of Savoy. This Prince was about to assume the title of Lieutenant-Général of the King for the region beyond the Alps, and Bullion, an able negotiator, who had just concluded the treaties of Chérasque, was to represent France in Turin. And another mission had been confided to this ambassador. In leaving his kingdom, Henri IV. wished also to remove from it every element of disorder. Condé, remaining at Milan, might in the hands of the Spaniards become a source of trouble, and Bullion was charged with the task of watching him, and endeavouring to induce him to quit Milan.[1]

We have already noticed how the Court of Madrid, misled by the reports of their ambassador in Paris, had exaggerated the importance of the Prince; they expected to find in him as useful an auxiliary as the King of France had found in the Duke of Savoy. Philip III. had again written to Condé to promise him his protection and assistance. The Duke of Lerma had seconded him with the most cordial declarations, and the Count of Fuentes continued to treat the Prince with the highest honours. He had been lodged in the palace; a

earlier despatches do not show the Regency of the Low Countries to have been disposed to resist the passage, and Sully's testimony is not confirmed.

[1] Instructions given to the Sieur de Bullion, etc.; copy of the seventeenth century. ('Archives de Condé.')

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sumptuous household had been appointed to wait upon him; a guard of honour was stationed at his door and followed him wherever he went; in a word, he was treated as if he had been an Archduke. But at the same time he was subjected strictly to the etiquette of the Spanish Court. Accustomed as he was to the freedom and ease of the French Court, he grew very impatient under the imperturbable gravity and continued pomp to which he was subjected. By Virey's advice, however, he bore it with a good grace, without however being able always to acquire the *sosiego*[1] of his hosts; he astonished and annoyed them by his inquisitiveness. As there was, much to his disgust, neither hunting nor shooting to be had, he visited all the public buildings in Milan and the neighbourhood. At last, to pass the time away, he set himself to a translation of Tacitus, under the direction of his learned secretary. It was in the midst of these inoffensive occupations—not very alarming to Henri IV.—that the agents of Bullion found the Prince, and set to work to practice upon him in conformity with their instructions.

Attempts to induce Condé to go to Rome. He renounces the plan on hearing of the entry of the French into Lombardy.

The first was a doctor of the name of Foucquet. He had only a few vague words to say, and conveyed no definite proposal. His mission had no result. The second was a certain Abbé Nozet, who, like Foucquet, had no official standing, but who conveyed to Condé positive assurances of a good reception from the Pope, if he would consent to present himself at the Court of his Holiness. Nozet had no difficulty in showing

[1] Letter to Mornay. *Sosiego* has no equivalent either in the language or customs of France. It expresses a state of physical and moral repose, of blissful tranquillity, which bears some analogy to the *far niente* of the Italians and especially to the Oriental *kief*.

that it was far more dignified for a French prince to place himself under the protection of the common father of the faithful than to seek the support of the hereditary enemy of his race and country. Condé began to waver; he consulted Fuentes about his journey to Rome. The Spaniard, far too crafty to oppose the project directly, feigned to approve of it. But while pretending to devise the means of accomplishing it, he took care to detail its inconveniences and dangers. 'The Pope,' he said, 'was a man without character, wholly under the influence of Henri IV. What was the Prince to do, surrounded by ten thousand Frenchmen quartered all over Rome and excited by the rumour that a price was set upon his head? Already this rumour had spread in Milan, so that the authorities of the city had been compelled to take precautionary measures for his safety.' Still, despite these insidious remarks, Condé was becoming inclined to follow the advice of Nozet, when he heard of the expected entry into Lombardy of the Duke of Savoy and of Lesdiguières. Fearing either to fall into the hands of the French troops, or to be arrested by the Spaniards, he finally decided to give himself up entirely to the latter. He summoned Nozet, and placed in his hands a despatch which he besought him to deliver to the Pope. The Abbé glanced at it, and saw that it was a letter in Spanish, in which the Prince declined the protection of the Holy Father, and declared that the counsels of the King of Spain, his protector, should be henceforth his only rule of action.

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'These are not the words of Condé, but of Fuentes!' exclaimed indignantly the Abbé. 'And what can I do now, other than place myself in the hands of Fuentes?'

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replied the Prince. Nozet refused to be the bearer of such a message, and departed in hot haste.

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Condé learns the death of Henri IV., quits Milan, and reaches Brussels June 18.

Very soon after this, towards the end of May 1610, Virey came one night and awoke Condé, handing him a letter which the private secretary of Fuentes had brought to be delivered at once to the Prince. Condé read it rapidly and handed it to Virey with profound emotion. It was a note from the Governor of Alessandria, announcing the death of Henri IV., who was assassinated on the fourteenth of the month. After a few moments of consternation, the Prince and his confidant pondered as to what their course ought to be. The first thing to be done was to cast off the ties which bound Condé to the Spaniards, and which his evil fate, rather than his own imprudence, had led him to form. But he was now in their hands, and to break with them suddenly was impossible. For the moment, the thing most to be dreaded was the excess of their interested benevolence. However incredible it may seem, it is certain that the ministers of Philip III. seriously thought of setting up Condé as a candidate for the throne of France. D'Estrées relates how the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty at Rome 'made great overtures of an extraordinary idea'[1] to the Pope; and Virey affirms that Fuentes came to the Prince accompanied by his officers, to congratulate him as 'the legal heir' of Henri IV.[2] Condé pretended not to understand him, and to believe that the congratulations were intended for the regent of the kingdom. He accepted that title; perhaps he had some idea of disputing that office with Marie de Médicis; but Virey says it was only to disarm

[1] 'Mémoires' of D'Estrées.
[2] 'Justus ut hæres.' (Poem by Virey.)

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the Spanish distrust in leading them to hope that 'he would move' on his return to France. In any case, the preparations for his return commenced forthwith. It seemed desirable to conduct these preparations with some degree of mystery, and to avoid going all across France in that moment of uncertainty and agitation. As Rochefort was on an embassy in Spain, the Prince was to be accompanied only by Villeroy; Fuentes gave to the latter a passport for the Low Countries, with a brevet of Captain of Light Cavalry. Condé was to pass for his *alferez*.[1] They left Milan on the ninth of June, passing rapidly through Switzerland, Franche-Comté, and Lorraine, and on the eighteenth arrived at Brussels, whence the Prince despatched his faithful secretary to Paris, with letters for the King and the Queen-Regent. Deaf to the advice of the Spanish ministers, and even to that of the Nuncio Bentivoglio,[2] he made up his mind to submit.

Condé submits himself to the Regent, refuses to see his wife, and reaches Paris, July 16, 1610.

Virey was well received at Court. There was much anxiety as to the position which Condé would assume, and everybody was rejoiced at his expected return; some hoping that he would bring fresh influence to bear in favour of the authority of Marie de Médicis, others counting upon him as the instrument of their ambition and their turbulent dispositions. The messenger returned to the Prince with the congratulations of the Regent and letters from his friends and his mother. Already before his departure from Milan, the Sieur de Coulanges Chastelux had handed to him the first despatches from his mother. She advised him to 'keep on good terms with' Marie de Médicis; but she excited him against his wife,

[1] The title of a sub-lieutenant of cavalry in the Spanish army.

[2] 'Mémoires' of D'Estrées.

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telling him that up to the last moment she had yielded to the King's passion, and advising him not to see her, and to leave her in the hands of the Infanta. Condé partially followed this advice. He consented to the Connétable's 'sending for his daughter,' and he appeared to show no resentment on account of the past.[1] He received Boutteville, whom Montmorency had sent on a very different mission from his last, and who found him in 'a conciliatory mood.' He even conversed confidentially with the secretary De Berny, the same 'whom he had threatened with the cane at the time of the uproar in the Hôtel d'Orange,' which is not a little astonishing;[2] but he positively declined to meet his wife. When he went to bid adieu to the Archduke, the latter received him in the garden at Marimont, and begged him to listen to a request. The Prince, suspicious as to what was about to be asked, prayed his illustrious host not to ask him for anything which it was impossible for him to grant, and then, perceiving in the distance the Princess, and fearing that an improvised reconciliation was about to be attempted, he hastily withdrew.[3] On the eighth of July he arrived at Mons, where he bade adieu to Spinola and to D'Añovar, and quitted the Spaniards who had served him, recompensing them handsomely. On the fifteenth he slept at Louvres,[4] and next day he started early for Saint-Denis to have a mass celebrated for the soul of the late King.

[1] Condé to the Connétable, to the Duchesse d'Angoulême; two undated letters, but written after the death of the King. Bibliothèque impériale, Saint-Germain. (Appendix, No. XXII.)

[2] Montmorency to the Archduke, June 18. The Infanta to Montmorency, June 20. Vandegies to Praets, June 27–29 and July 6. Pecquius to the Archduke, July 1. (Archives of Belgium.)

[3] Virey's 'Récit.' Letters of Praets and of Vandegies, July 7, 8, and 9. (*Ibidem.*)

[4] See Analysis of the Prince de Condé's 'Journal de Voyage.' (Appendix, No. XXIII.)

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On his return to Bourget, he found Monsieur le Grand,[1] M. d'Épernon, M. de Sully, and many of the noblesse, in all at least thirteen hundred horse. After exchanging compliments, they all left in haste, in order to escort the Prince into the presence of their Majesties. In truth, notwithstanding the assurances of Virey, there was still much uneasiness at Court. The night before a fresh oath had been demanded from all the captains of the body-guard, and care was taken to have the King well protected. Arrived at the Louvre, Condé saluted the Queen very respectfully, and assured her of his submission and fidelity. He then returned to his lodging, passing through the streets thronged with crowds of sad and silent spectators; for the people were not consoled for the irreparable loss which France had just sustained.[2]

[1] The 'Grand écuyer.'

[2] Malherbe gives full details of this entry in his letters to Peiresc.

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

I.

The Prince de Condé to the King.

FIVE letters written in the interval between the second and third Civil War[1] (April to August 1568). APP. I.

Valery, 24 avril 1568.

Sire, j'ay reçeu la lettre qu'il a pleu à Vostre Majesté m'escripre pour me commander de faire tenir prestz les cinquante mil livres que nous devons fournir aux reystres aussitost qu'ilz seront à Auxerre, à ce que à faulte de cela, ilz ne séjournent ny arrestent rien d'avantage dans vostre royaume. Sur quoy, Sire, j'advertiray Vostre dicte Majesté que je y ay donné tel ordre que vous serez satisfaict en cest endroict comme je desire de le faire en tous autres; car j'ay accordé avec lesdicts reystres qu'ilz se contenteront d'avoir ladicte somme sur la frontière d'Allemaigne et de n'arrester aucunement pour cela jusques à ce qu'ilz y soient parvenuz. Dans le quel temps, je feray de mon costé telle diligence d'assembler et leur faire porter ceste somme que je ne leur fauldray de promission ny ne leur donneray occasion de faillir à celle qu'ilz m'ont faicte. Tellement que Vostre Majesté se peult asseurer que son intention sera pour ce regard suyvye comme elle sera tousjours, Dieu aydant, en toutes autres choses de ma part. Au reste, Sire, sachant qu'en plusieurs endroictz de ce royaume l'on refuse à ceulx de la religion les passages sur les rivières et l'entrée aux villes d'où ilz sont, et qu'ilz ne

[1] Many important papers quoted in the text of this work are not here reprinted, having been already published in La Popelinière, in the *Mémoires de Condé*, or in other collections. We publish here only a selection of documents never before, we believe, edited.

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peuvent demeurer en seureté en leurs maisons, il m'a semblé que par mesme moyen j'en devois donner advis à Vostre dicte Majesté pour le bien et repoz que je desire à vos subjectz. Et mesme, comm le S^r^ Desternay m'a faict entendre que le capitaine Foissy estoit prest de l'assiéger en sa maison de la Mothe, qui descouvre et faict paroistre de plus en plus qu'il y en a, ainsy que j'estime l'avoir desjà escript à Vostre dicte Majesté, qui n'ayant peu empescher la paix tant nécessaire qu'il vous a pleu mettre en vostre royaume, se mettent en devoir et efforcent de donner empeschement en l'establissement et jouyssance d'icelle chose, qui ne peult estre que d'une bien mauvaise et pernicieuse conséquence et apporter encore beaucoup de mal à voz pauvres subjectz, tant travaillez des calamitez passées et qui auroient bien meilleur besoing de jouyr de la tranquillité en la quelle il plaist à Vostre Majesté qu'ilz vivent que d'estre plus ainsy molestez contre voz expresses défenses. Et pour ce, Sire, que ce faict du dict S^r^ Desternay, entre les autres, pourroit estre cause qu'il regarderoit de s'accompagner pour essayer avec l'ayde de ses voysins et amys de repousser le dict Foissy et empescher qu'il ne luy face le tort et injure qu'il a déliberé de faire contre vostre intention et la teneur de voz édictz, je supplieray très-humblement Vostre dicte Majesté de vouloir obvier au plus tost par le remède qu'elle advisera plus prompt et convenable à ce qui en pourroit advenir, de peur qu'il n'en arrive de l'inconvénient et que d'autres par tel exemple ne prennent hardiesse d'entreprendre choses pareilles; mais que au contraire, quand l'on congnoistra la volonté que Vostre Majesté aura de faire jouyr vos subjectz du bénéfice de la paix, chacun se contienne en doulceur et modestie, sans user de telles voyes d'hostilité. Et pourvoyant à ce faict particulier, il plaira à Vostre dicte Majesté vouloir faire de mesme pour les autres qui sont empeschez d'entrer en leurs maisons ou travaillés en icelles.

(Original. *Archives of the Département du Nord.*)

Noyers, 11 juin 1568.

Sire, j'ay entendu, par la lettre qu'il a pleu à Vostre Majesté m'escripre par M. de Combault, vostre volunté et intention sur la satisfaction que je doibtz à l'obligation par moy faicte de faire payer les cent mil escuz et tout ce que se monteroit l'herryghelt et naustglet (*sic*) des reystres, à quoy, Sire, j'estimois bien pouvoir satisfaire plus amplement, si les moyens qui sont nécessaires pour y parvenir m'eussent esté plus tost ouvers; lesquelz estans donnez par Vostre

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Majesté, je mectray telle peine et diligence de mon costé, que sans aucun délay ou retardement elle en demourera contente, comme en toutes autres choses nous rendrons prompte obéissance à voz commandemens, ainsi qu'est le debvoir de très-humbles et fidèles subjectz ; mais, pour ce qu'il plaist à Vostre dicte Majesté se ramentevoir que, par les depputez pour la pacification, il n'a esté demandé autre chose que voz lettres patentes pour approuver et auctoriser la levée que nous ferions faire desd. deniers sur ceulx de la religion réformée qui m'avoient accompagné, et non sur les autres qui estoient demourez en leurs maisons, ne me pouvant bonnement recorder de cest accord, d'autant que je n'y estois présent et qu'il n'en a rien esté mis par escript, je faiz présentement une dépesche à M. le cardinal de Chastillon, lequel, pour y avoir assisté, pourra remarquer à Vostre Majesté toutes les particularitez, et luy présenter par mesme moyen la forme des provisions nécessaires pour la levée desd. deniers, affin qu'estant veue en vostre conseil l'avancement de cest affaire apparoisse bientost après les despesches faictes desd. provisions ; j'adjousteray seullement sur ce point, Sire, une supplication tres-humble, qu'il plaise à Vostre Majesté que faisant la levée desd. deniers, il ne soit faict distinction entre ceulx de lad. religion réformée qui m'ont accompagné et les autres qui sont demourez en leurs maisons, d'aultant que leur volonté estoit une et semblable, et si tous n'y estoient en personne, soit pour indisposition, faulte de moyens ou aultre empeschement, ilz ne laissoient d'y estre de cœur et d'affection, joinct aussy qu'ilz obbéiront pour le regard de lad. levée aussi voluntiers les uns que les autres, et la célérité en sera d'aultant plus grande que le fort portera le foible, et qu'ilz sentiront moins d'incommodité, prestans chacun l'espaule en cest affaire. Au reste, Sire, j'ay prié led. S^r^ de Combault faire entendre à Vostre Majesté ce que je luy ay remonstré des contraventions qui se font tous les jours à voz édictz en ce que vos pauvres subjectz de la religion réformée souffrent tant d'oppressions et injustices (qui n'est moindre à l'endroict de plusieurs que de perte de la vie), que le desbordement ne s'est jamais veu si grand, et toutes fois espèrent que vostre clémence et bonté les en mectra dehors et les embrassera, comme ceux qui n'ont aultre recours après Dieu qu'à Vostre Majesté ; ce que je vous supplie très-humblement, Sire, prendre d'aussi bonne part comme de sincère affection et d'un cueur entier je suis poussé d'en parler à vous, Sire, auquel après Dieu j'ay voué et consacré mon cueur, ma vie, mes biens, pour les employer du tout à vostre service, comme l'un de voz plus affectionnez subjectz et serviteurs.

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, MS. Colbert, 24, V^c^, 153.)

Noyers, 29 juin 1568.

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Sire, j'eusse bien desiré avoir ung meilleur subject d'escrire à Vostre Majesté que celuy qui se présente maintenant pour vous relever de la peine et fascherie que je vous donneray par icelluy d'entendre mes plainctes et doléances ; mais puisque vous estes seul qui y pouvez applicquer remède, j'ay tant plus de hardiesse et asseurance à le chercher vers vous-mesme que le faict me touche de si prez et regarde tant d'autres que je ne puys ny doibtz le celer à Vostre dicte Majesté. Il est tel, Sire, que depuis que je me suis retiré en ma maison de ce lieu avec ma femme et ma famille (en ceste volunté de m'estudier en tout et partout à vous faire paroistre par tous mes déportements ouvertz et manifestes que je n'ay autre but, comme je n'ay jamais eu ny n'auray, qu'à vous rendre très-humble service et obbéissance), j'ay eu plusieurs advertissements que l'on faict journellement des menées contre moy. A quoy ne voulant adjouster foy, estant appuyé sur une bonne conscience et ne me pouvant défier de ceulx que je pense debvoir estre mes amys, pour m'y faire toucher au doigt, on m'a amené depuis deux jours ung espion, nommé Jacques de l'Escolle, serviteur du capporal Cagnart, de la compagnie du cappitaine la Verrière, envoyé en ceste ville par son maistre et par l'enseigne de ladicte compagnie, laquelle est en garnison à Courson, distant de huict lieues d'icy, et a confessé avoir charge de recognoistre la ville, la hauteur des murailles et ma compagnie. Autres me viennent dire qu'on me veult tuer et me désignent à peu près ceux qui ont juré ma mort. Les garnisons qui sont en tous les environs d'icy viennent courir jusques à demye lieue de ceste ville, emmenant les chevaux de mes gens, font plusieurs outrages et violences, et disent tout haut qu'ilz vont contre le prince de Condé. Tout cela, Sire, n'a poinct puissance de m'estonner, encores moins les faulses et calomnieuses imputations qu'on mect en avant contre moy, car Dieu fera paroistre ma fidélité. Et s'il est question du zèle et affection à vostre service, il me fera la grâce d'en laisser beaucoup derrière moy, qui, ayant plus d'apparence que de vérité, s'efforcent d'esloigner de vous voz bons et loyaux serviteurs et subjectz. Je me resjouys que, oultre les preuves du passé, nostre obbéissance à Vostre Majesté s'est encores monstrée fraischement, en ce qu'ayant chacun ung petit bulletin en la main de voz commandemens, nous sommes retournez en noz maisons. Nostre patience se veoit en ce que la hayne ne fust jamais plus aigre ne plus aspre contre nous, ny les violences plus fréquentes, et néantmoins nous n'avons recours qu'à Vostre Majesté, laquelle je supplie très-humble-

ment, Sire, vouloir faire justice desd. entreprinses, me commander ce qu'il vous plaist estre faict dud. espion et empescher les insolences et débordemens desd. garnisons. Je ne veulx oublier, Sire, à vous demander aussi justice d'un meurtre cruel et inhumain commis depuis trois ou quatre jours en la personne d'un de mes escuyers, nommé Hercule, au lieu de Blandy, où il passait. Les informations en seront présentées à Vostre Majesté. C'est le troisième gentilhomme des miens qui ont esté tuez depuis la paix. Le premier, nommé le cappitaine Rapin, fut décapité à Tholose. Le second tué prez de Villerscosteretz, dont n'a esté faicte aucune justice. De ce troisième meurtre, je vous supplie très-humblement, Sire, commander que la justice en soit faicte. J'adjousteray, pour la fin, une supplication très-humble pour le cappitaine Dupré, lequel depuis ung mois a esté arresté prisonnier à Paris : s'il ne se trouve coulpable d'aucun crime, comme je m'asseure qu'il ne sera, ayant esté asseuré par plusieurs de son innocence, il vous plaira, Sire, commander qu'il soit mis en sa liberté.

(*Archives of the Département du Nord.*)

Noyers, 22 juillet 1568.

Sire, le désordre qui se commect tous les jours contre nous, qui, soubz vostre obbéissance, vivons selon la religion réformée, nous donne ce subject de vous escripre nos doléances, et moy particulièrement, qui à ceste heure est plus recherché que les autres, sans sçavoir pourquoy ; car on ne me peult mettre assus que je fasse rien contre voz édictz et ne faiz que vivre en ma maison, soubz la foy publicque qu'il a pleu à Vostre Majesté donner à voz subgectz et promis en la présence des princes estrangers. Nonobstant cela, nous nous voions tuez, pillez, saccagez, les femmes forcées, les filles ravies des mains de leurs pères et mères, les grands mis hors de leurs charges, les officiers hors de leurs estatz, et tous en général nommez ennemys de vous, Sire, et de vostre royaume. Et tout cela se faict sans veoir une seulle justice. Hélas ! Sire, en quel estat sommes-nous réduictz ? Veoir vostre peuple tuant et faisant ce que bon luy semble sur vos subgectz et sur vostre noblesse, sans estre reprins ny chastiez. C'est une grande conséquence que Vostre Majesté sçait trop mieux comprendre que moy, et qui pis est, ils disent qu'ilz ont le mot du guet, chose que ne puys et ne veulx croire. Et pour aux plus petitz le persuader, disent : 'Ne voyez-vous pas bien que, quand ilz sont mortz, qu'on ne nous en demande rien ? Et si le Roy en vouloit faire justice, tous les arbres seroient

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plus couvertz d'hommes que de fueilles. Vous sçavez bien qu'il n'entretient ses forces que pour les deffaire ; car sans cela il nous osteroit les armes et ne permettroit jamais les veoir entre les mains du peuple, qui à la fin en pourroit abbuser. Regardez qu'à ceste heure qu'il permect que les villes et le peuple s'associent ensemble, s'il n'est pas vray ce que nous vous disons.' Voilà, Sire, les effectz et propos qui se tiennent et font en vostre royaume. Pour y pourveoir, je m'en remetz à vostre gentil esprit ; car vostre bon jugement vous dict assez que quand il seroit, ce qu'il n'est poinct, que fussions meschans, faudroit-il qu'il fust dict et pour jamais que soubz vostre règne on exerçast tous ces désordres et cruaultez. Qui est celuy qui peult asseurément vous conseiller rompre la foy publicque ? Je m'asseure, Sire, qu'il n'y a éloquent ny orateur qui peust faire croire que ce fust bien faict de faire le contraire de ce qu'estes obligé envers voz subgectz de leur administrer et faire bonne justice, et en quelle extrémité seroient réduictz voz princes et noblesse de se veoir hors d'espérance de justice. Je sçay, Sire, qu'il y en a qui pensent estre bien fiers, qui diront que l'on nous la faict. Mais s'ilz vous disent que l'on nous baille l'umbre pour le corps, ilz diront vray ; car nous avons veu M. le M^al^ de Cossé en Picardie et en la ville d'Amiens, et puys c'est tout. Nous avons veu des maistres des requestes à Auxerre. Qu'est-ce qu'ilz ont faict ? Rien. Voilà, Sire, l'umbre ; mais rien ne s'est veu en effect. Je sçay, Sire, que Vostre Majesté ne trouvera mauvais la hardiesse que je prends de vous escrire ceste lettre et de vous envoyer les informations d'un soldat que j'ay prins icy, que le cappitaine Laguette, qui est en garnison à Auxerre, envoyoit icy pour adviser les moyens pour me faire une estrette ; qui est une chose estrange veoir ainsy traicter les princes de vostre sang qui ne bougent de leurs maisons, et pour cela l'on cherche à les faire mourir. De cela je n'ay peur ; car j'espère bien me garder d'eulx et de plus braves qu'eulx, quand il plaira à Vostre Majesté ne se mesler ny porter telz rustres contre moy. Et veoys qu'il n'y a que deux jours qu'aviez escript une lettre à M. de Tavannes, par laquelle vous luy faisiez entendre vostre volunté, qui est que vous vouliez qu'on me laissast en repos en ma maison, vivant sans rumpre ny enfreindre vos ecditz (*sic*) et ordonnances. Mais je m'asseure, Sire, que led. S^r^ de Tavannes ne sçait rien de ceulx qui contre moy veullent quelque chose entreprendre ; car je le cognois de trop longue main ennemy de ceulx qui ne veullent qu'entretenir les troubles. Parquoy je croy que cecy se faict à son desceu. Mais toutefois, Sire, les choses passent ainsy. Suppliant très-humblement Vostre Majesté de faire naistre quelque bel ordre pour changer la malheu-

reuse discorde en concorde amyable, et l'horrible orage de guerre cruelle qui le tourmente et menace en tranquillité paisible. Ce faisant, Sire, vous verrez avecques voz vertuz reluire vostre royaume, qui est desjà pasle des peines passées et présentes. APP I.

(*Archives of the Département du Nord.*)

Noyers, 22 août 1568.

Sire, j'ay reçeu la lettre qu'il vous a pleu m'escripre par l'un de voz valletz de chambre, présent porteur; m'esmerveillant bien fort que Vostre Majesté désire entendre quel ordre j'auray donné au recouvrement des sommes des deniers qui ont esté promises par ceulx de la Religion, lorsque l'édict de paciffication fut conclud, attendu que cela deppend du bon plaisir de Vostre Majesté; ne pouvant y pourvoir sans avoir les commissions de contrainctes qui sont nécessaires pour l'assiette et cottisation desd. deniers; l'expédition desquelles il vous plaira commander, affin que je puisse user en cela de telle diligence que je sçay bien le faict le requérir, comme je feray en toutes autres choses qui concerneront vostre service. Quant à ce qu'il a pleu à Vostre Majesté envoyer pardevers le S^r^ de Tavannes pour luy faire entendre vostre intention sur le meurtre commis en la personne du S^r^ Damauzay à ce que la justice en soit faicte, Dieu veuille que Vostre Majesté puisse estre mieulx obéye en cela qu'elle n'a accoustumé, et qu'entre tant d'autres insolences qui ont esté commises et qui se commectent encores journellement par tous les endroictz de ce royaulme, on commence à faire chastiment et punition dud. meurtre, affin que l'audace des meurtriers soyt reffrénée qui s'augmente tous les jours, comme depuis peu de temps on a veu à Meaulx, où il en a esté tué beaucoup de ceulx de la Religion, et en Auvergne, d'où la pluspart sont fugitifz, et ceulx desquelz on a peu se saisir constituez prisonniers et dévalisez, en sorte qu'il est aisé à veoir qu'on tient fort peu de compte de voz commandemens et de vostre voulloir et intention; et ce qui est cause que je ne puis espérer mieulx à l'advenir est qu'on faict acheminer par deça ung grand nombre de forces et que j'attends d'heure à autre d'estre assiégé en ce lieu pour recevoir semblable traictement que les autres et pire que je n'ay encores receu; remectant à faire demain entendre à Vostre Majesté plus particulièrement par homme exprès les tortz, injures et indignitez qu'on me faict et les advertissemens que je reçoys de jour à autre des beaux des-

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seings qui se préparent contre moy et contre tous ceulx de la Religion.

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, MS. Colbert, 24, V°, 178.)

II.

Despatches and documents from the State Paper Office, London (French Papers), from May 12, 1568, to March 10, 1569.

Norreys to Cecil.

(EXTRACT.) May 12, 1568.

I receyvid your letter of the first of maye, right honorable, the 8 of the same, wherby I finde you desirous to understande wher the prince and the admirall are. Yt may please you to be advertised that the prince is now at Murrett, in Picardy, at the marques Rothelin his mother in lawe's house, the admirall at Chastillon, the cardinall Chastillon at Brayle in Beuuoys, mons^{r} d'Andelott at Tanley.

The thinges here goithe not to ther behalfe as I wolde wishe or desire; ffor that I finde thes here do the goo aboute to strengthen themselfs and weaken the Religion and the favorers therof what they may; insomiche as wher so ever they shall make eny attempt, yt shal be (as they thinck) to the advantage of the papists, and to the great hinderance of them of the Religion; and wherby ther devices which now they have in hande may not be disclosid, they have cassid all them to [*that ?*] be of the Religion, withe intent to rydd the King's house of all that be suspectid therof.

All things are rulid by Mons^{r} de Anjou, who, thoughe younge, yet a most ernest and cruell ennemy against the favorers of Religion, and now hathe his prevy counselers, the cardinall of Lorreine beinge the cheffest; he further hathe his chauncelor, whiche submittethe and sealithe all soch things as the good olde chauncelor of the Kinges refusithe to seele, which thing he hathe so to harte, as he is retirid him home to his owne house in the towne of Paris; and wher as the King's chauncelor I meane, who nether for love nor dread wolde seal eny thing against the statutes of the realme, or that might be prejudiciall to the same, this of M^{r} d'Anjou's refusithe nothing that is proferid to him. . . .

Norreys to Queen Elizabeth.

(EXTRACT.) June 4,1568,

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. . . . Ther hathe lately passid divers letters from the cardinal de Lorreine to the prince of Condey, the wiche the said prince hathe answered partly by letters againe, and partly by worde of mouthe. Amongst other the cardinal wrotte the 28 of maye unto him, wherin he requirid the prince to treade all things paste onder fote, and to remember that they were nyghe allyed together, beside that for the comon pacis sake, he wold gladly be reconcilyed unto him; moreover, that he doutid not but that the prince had harde meny things of him, as toching his good will towards him; more then was true. Wherunto the prince made a resolute answer, that the cardinal was an enemy, bothe to God and man, to the common tranquillite and peace of this realme, and that ther culde be no reconciliation betwixt them, unless the cardinall wolde departe the courte, and leave the perturbing of the common peace of the realme, which were the meanes to cause him the lesse to be offendid with him.

Mary, for the admitting him amongst the number of his ffrends, he wished him never to loke for it; but this the cardinall answerid that he had askid leave of the Kinge to departe the courte, but His Majesty wolde not suffer him so to doo, and therfor he required the prince not to be offendid withe his abiding ther. The prince replyed agein that soche deceites were not able to circumvent him, adding hereunto meny hothe words, insomuch as the cardinall, the last of maye, sent him a flatte answer, that he wolde not leave the courte, unless he were driven from thens. How these differences will succede, yt will appeare at the marishall Momorance's returne to the courte, who presently is gone to mett his brother Damville at Chantille, and is lokyd for here abowt the VIIth of this instant. I am given secretly to understand, at this repayer hether, that the IIII marishalls coming together will make nete opposicions ageinst the card. of Lorreine, and requier execution of justice, with redresse of some other disorder; so as uppon his returne consistithe the hole matter.

Morover yt may like Your Maj. to be adverfised that meny of the Religion that dwelte in the good townes, understanding with what cruelty the protestantes were usid, do not retyer to ther howses, but kepe them in the feldes, with ther captains, in trouppes in diverse places; wheruppon the King hathe adressid his secrett letters to 212 places in this realme (for so meny are privily printed),

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wherof I send one unto Your Maj., to chardge the governors, in case they finde eny accompenies or assemblees, to runne uppon them by force of armes, and putt them to the sworde, and if they retyer into the cities, that ther armes shuld be takin from them; wherin Your Maj. will judge ther is smale place of surety for them of the Religion, ether in towne or felde. Yt is forther to be notyd that, after the publications of the peace, the King sent prevy letters throughеowt the realme, that the protestants returnyng to ther howses, they shuld be disarmed at ther entrey into the townes, wherof divers of them returning without armour, having lifte yt in the contrey with ther frendes, are not suffered to enter, but chargid to returne the fetche ther armes, and namely at Meaux, the first of june, divers were refusid for the same cawse.

At Lyons the peace was proclaymid the 15 of maye, and the day following came ther a curryar with the Kinge's letters, that His Maj. meanid not that ther shuld be eny preaching ther, whiche they of the Religion have ernestly sought here, and hathe wrought all good meanes to atteine the same. Here your Maj. may perceyve how indirectly they mynde to procede in observing th'edicte of pacification.

On sondaye laste, the prince of Condey sent a gentilman to the Kyng, to beseache His Maj. to minister justice ageinst soche as murther them of the Religion, and as he entrid into the cite, ther were five slain in S^{t} Anthonis streate, not farr from my lodging. Of this cruel murther he complaynid to the Queene. She promisid justice shuld be executed uppon the offenders, but as yet nothing is done. . . .

Norreys to Queen Elizabeth.

June 7, 1568.

Yt may like Your most excellent Majesty that the 6 of this instant, Mons^{r} admirall sent to me one of his purposly withe request that I shulde spedely advertise Your M. of that which he thoughte himselffe bounde in conscience to gyve Your H. to understand of, knowing Your M. to be the chefest favorer of Religion of your estat that lyvithe, so wolde he not but toching you so neere as this dothe, Your M. shulde be spedely advertised therof. As that the cardinall of Lorrein, who alone dothe all in every thing, hathe promizid to Mons^{r} d'Anjou the King's brother, two hundrid M ffrankes yerly of the clergy of Fraunce to sustein the romish religion, wherto the pope, the kinge of Spaine, and other papisticall princes, hathe promisid all helpe and succour in every thing that Mons^{r} attempt to

the ruin of them of the Religion; and the cardinall, the better to incorage him in this his enterprise, promisithe that the Q. of Scotts shall be brought into Fraunce, and that he will cause her to yelde to the King's brother all hir estat that she hathe or pretendid to have to your realme of Inglande, trusting hereby as well to kindell Your Highnes realme ther, as he hathe done and daily dothe thers heere; so that the admirall's humble request to Your Honor is as it tochithe Your H. and your realme most nere, evin so that Your M. will most circumspectly consider therof in time, and as now the Q. of Scotts is in your M. disposicion, so lyithe yt in you to frustrat the cardinal's expectacion, as to your Highnes most grave and wise judgement shall seme most expedient.

Thus having delivered unto Your M. that which I was charged withall, yt may like Your H. further to understande of great practizes usid of late to surprize the nobilite here, as the prince of Condé was sought to have bin untrappid by Lavallete, Mons^{r} l'admirall by Chavigny, his brother Dandelot by Tavan and Barbasius; but when they shuld cum to ther matters in execution, they founde ther consell revelid, and them in soche order to receyve them, as beinge advertised therof, returnid withеowt making any attempt. Sins whiche time soche is the dowte of the fidelite they have of theres here, as they have cassid sundry of ther secretaris commises; thinking ther practises and others revelid by them being suspected to be of the Religion, insomiche that the receyver of Senlitz, commise to Villeroy, and Sagot, commise to l'Obespine, are dischargid, and it is thought that divers others shal follow. And it may further like Your Highnes to understande that this practise is not alone in hande, as by the seight the cardinall of Lorrein caused the Pariziens to exhibitt to the Kinge that yt will please him to gvye the government of the Isle of Fraunce and Paris to his brother, Mons^{r} d'Anjou, whiche heretofore the Momorancys hathe till now inyvid, and now in his absens, being in his diett, gotten from him, whiche is thought will cause moche unquietnes uppon his returne hethe^{r} ageine; so as I thincke no lesse as farr as I can see into this ther trublid estate, but that I shall, er it be longe, advertise Your Highnes of new taking of armes ageinst the cardinall, who preparithe by all meanes to withstande the same, bothe by the King's force, now under Monsieur's governement, under whom he nowe shrowdithe himselffe, as also his owne and all his ffrendes.

Norreys to Queen Elizabeth.

(EXTRACT.) June 23, 1568.

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. . . . . The prince of Condey at this present lyethe at a towne of the princesse his wiffe in Burgundy, callid Noyers, fifty and fowre leages from Paris. The towne is stronge and closid withe a faire river, and a stronge castell in the same, which they doo daily fortifye. The prince hathe two hundrid soldiers to kepe the towne, besides divers well appointed gentilmen and capteins, and thirtie miles about, the gentilmen of that country being for the most parte of the Religion doo kepe ther howses well accompanid, and are in a redines to waight on the prince when so he shall commaunde them therto.

Monsieur Dandelott lyethe at a castell of his callid Tanley, fowre leagues from the prince, wher he is also well accompanid withe divers capteins. The towne of Rochelle hathe now the thirde time bine admonished to render itself to the King again, and to receive soche garnison as the Kinge shulde appoint, but the chefe of the towne have aunswerid even as afore that, onlesse in other places they of the Religion be better receyvid and the peace more observid than it is yet, they were mynded to receive no garnison, and moreover that they have bine so true always to ther kyngs, that when they were under the dominion of Inglande, of ther owne accorde and good will, they rendrid themselfs to the kinge of Fraunce, and aydid him ageinst the Englishe to ther powre, for the whiche then done they hadd divers privileges graunted them, which of late have bin violated and broken. The towne also callid Gyan, 13 miles from Orleans, hathe likewise refusid to take eny garnison, as also hathe Nymes and Montpellier, and as yet are for the prince. . . .

The Prince de Condé to Queen Elizabeth.

La Rochelle, 15 septembre 1568.

(Mada)me, c'est bien à mon très-grand regret (que je viens vous) faire entendre ung si triste et lamentable subiect et (que je suis) contrainct vous déclairer par le menu la pitié et désolation (dont je suis) tanct affligé. Mais, puisque la nécessité m'en convoye, (je crois devoir) despescher un personnaige éloquent et digne d'une grande charge, (le S^{r}) de Cavaignes, conseiller du Roy en sa court de parlement de (Paris? ou Bordeaux? pour) mieux vous

exprimer les causes et raisons qui mont meues là (-dessus). Lequel je vous supplie très-humblement voulloir croire et adjou(ter foi à ce) qu'il vous dira de ma part, comme vous vouldriés faire à moymes(me. Me) remectant sur la suffisance et capacité, je finiray ceste lettre (priant le) Créateur, Madame, qu'il vous augmente ses sainctes grâces et maintienne (toujours en santé) très-bonne et longue vye.

Escript à la Rochelle le xv (septembre) 1568.[1]

Vostre très-humble et très-obéyssant s(erviteur),

LOYS DE BOURBON.

The Prince de Navarre to Cecil.

30 décembre 1568.

Monsieur Cecill, ayant entendu par les sieurs de Stuart et de Renty, l'affection et bonne volunté que vous portés à la juste et légitime cause par laquelle M. le prince de Condé, mon oncle, et moi, et plusieurs autres grands seigneurs, cappitaines et autres de ce royaume, avons prins les armes, et aussi les bons offices que vous faictes envers la Royne, vostre souveraine, pour nous y favoriser et secourir, ainsi qu'elle a tousiours faict comme princesse chrestienne et très-vertueuse, je n'ay pas voulu falir de vous en remercier de tout mon cueur, regardant qu'en ceste cause commune à tous ceulx qui par la miséricorde de nostre Dieu sommes distraitz de la tyrannie du pape, il y va, oultre nostre particulière ruyne, de la gloire et honneur de Nostre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, pour lequel il ne faut espargner chose qui soit au moyen et puissance des hommes. Quant audict S^r^ prince, mon oncle, et moy, qui avons embrassé la protection et deffense de ceste saincte querelle, nous sommes tous résolus d'y employer noz biens et vies, et si vous pouvez asseurer, monsieur Cecill, que nous n'oblierons rien de nostre debvoir à vous racongnoistre voz bons offices, pour lesquelz aussi une grande et forte partie de la noblesse et des bons soldatz de la France vous demeureront en obligation et vous en feront volontiers le plaisir et service que vous vouldrés tirer d'eulx. Je ne vous feray point icy

[1] The date of the month and all the words or syllables enclosed within brackets are wanting in the original, which has been damaged by fire. The letter from Coligny, which accompanied this, and of which the original is in the same volume, is dated *La Rochelle, September* 14. The original of this document, with autograph signature and subscription, is preserved in the British Museum, Cotton MSS., Caligula E. VI.

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mention de ce qui s'est faict et passé depuis la prinse des armes, d'aultant que vous l'entendrés bien particulièrement et au vray par le discours qui en est envoyé par ce porteur. Bien avons-nous de quoy louer et remercier Dieu de l'assistance que nous avons trouvé en luy, le suppliant la nous vouloir continuer, et vous donner, Monsieur Cecill, en parfaicte santé, longue vie.

De Thouars, le xxx^e^ de déc. 1568.

Vostre bien bon amy,

HENRY.

The Prince de Condé to Cecil.

31 décembre 1568.

Monsieur Cecill, le plaisir et fauveur que nous avons reçeu de vous à toutes occasions qui se sont cy-devant présentées d'employer vostre crédit pour nous envers la royne d'Angleterre, nous ont faict espérer qu'à ce coup, et en ce temps auquel il semble que tous les ennemys de la relligion refformée ayent conjoinctement complotté et conjuré la ruyne d'icelle, vous continuerés ceste bonne affection et volunté envers nous, en quoy nous n'avons esté trompés, si ce n'est d'une chose, sçavoir est que nous ne pouvions ni debvions, pour le peu de moyens que nous avons eu de prendre nostre revanche du passé, espérer la moindre partie des bons et favorables offices qu'il vous a pleu nous despartir envers Sa Majesté pour obtenir le secours et assistance que nous luy avons demandée en ses derniers troubles, et dont monsieur Estuard nous a faict bien particulièrement et au long le récit. Dieu, qui est le rémunérateur de telles et si saintes œuvres, le vous rendra en son paradis. De nostre part, nous vous prions croyre qu'il ne se présentera oncques occasion ne recognoistre ce plaisir faict si bien à propos, que nous ne l'acceptions de la mesme franchise et affection dont nous sçavons que vous uzés envers nous et sur ce, après vous avoir présenté mes bieus affectionnées recommandations, je prieray le Créateur vous tenir, Mons^r^ Cecill, en sa saincte garde.

De Thouars en Poytou, le dernier de décembre 1568.

Vostre bien affectionné et obligé amy,

LOYS DE BOURBON.

G. North to Cecil.

December 30, 1568, and January 11, 1569.

Greting, right honorable. To encreas my creditt after Plimouth broyles, I tendid my travell to Rochelle, wher I arrivid the 26 of

october, and hearing the princes of Navare and Condie were in campp before Pons, 14 leagues from thence, I presentid myself unto them the last of the same. The moroe, being the first of november, we herd that Monsr de Guyse, Mr Briszack, and Monsr Martigo were cum within 6 leages with 3,000 horse and 10,000 fotemen. The prince leaving the chardge of Pons to Mr de Pile, went to encountar the enemye, who, not leonine but leporine, lyett turnid the brydell. We folowyd them fower dayes, and so near as count Montgomerie, who leads the poynct of the wauntgard, with whom by the prince commandement I continuallie was, as appieryth by his lettars to Your Honour, sundrie tymes dislodgid them, fynding theyr supper prepared, but we guests unlokid for, they wanted curradge to abyd and bed us welcome, never loking back till they came to Chavonie (*Chauvigny*), 7 leagues from Chatelero, and 8 from Poytiers, wher the count with 10 cornets of horsmen onlie presented them battell the 4 of november, which they refusid, and tooke the gard of a bridge well one hundrid passe over. That nyght we wonne the same, forcid the enemie to abandon the town, leaving 5 ensignes of footmen in the castell.

The 5 of november, by break of daye, we passid over ower vauntgard, folowyng the enemie as afore, leaving the castell to the prince cumming, which was uppon the first summons rendrid.

The 6 we came within one miell of Chastelero wher the Kyng's brother was with 3,000 horse and 8,000 footmen; he then strong 6,000 horse and 18,000 fotemen.

The 7 we presentid them battell with owr vauntgarde in nomber 2,500 horse and 6,000 footmen, but they wold take no knowledge of us.

The 8 we kept the field the wholl day, till we hadd intelligence by certayn pressonars that they had fortefyed the passedge to Chatelero, entrenchid theyr ordnance, and ment to stand to the gard of the same. The 9 and 10 we returned without any exployt.

The 11th we came to Chavonie (*Chauvigny*) againe, meaning to traye the enemie from his force to the field. The 12th to Mortimer,[1] wher the prince and lords being in counsell, one sent from the bysshop of Poytiers to kyll the prince of Conde was taken in the councell chamber, with his pistolet chargid for the same, who at the first confessid the wholl, affirming that a hundred more had promesid the lyck attempt.

The 13 to Ganson (*Gençay*), wher the prince of Condee callid me privatlie unto hym, and after long discourse he advancid himself

[1] Three leagues to the south of Chauvigny.

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to the rest of the lords, sayeng he covetid nothing more en onceth to speak with the Quene's Ma^te^ his mistres, commanding Her M^ties^ vertuose above all princes christened, willing me (thoughe most unworthy) to wytnes of his repart, declaring that after his last warrs the french king desyrid him to leade ane armie into England, which he utterlie refusid with much more then the's letters purport.

The 14 to Chaney (*Chenay*), wher I had commission delivered me ageynst all papists by name French, Spanierd, Italian, Portungall or others whatsoever enemies to Religion, with reward in favore of 300 crowns.

The 15 the enemies had apoyntid his randevous at Saynsom (*Sanxai*), and owr vauntgarde determined the same, so both the marshall of ether campp arivid there at one instant. The enemye tooke the field, back with a great wood, presented battell which was most desyrid of us; both the armies approchid within shott of harguebus, our vauntgarde advancid, they retyrid with the losse of a number both horsmen and footmen, wher Mons^r^ Martigo was hurt in the arme with a shott.

The 16, by break of day, we were in the field; the enemie showid not; count Montgomerie discoverid the wood; we found the enemie fled, and by prisonars that we towk, we understode his fear in flyght, we folowyd on the spurr and so near as by none we gaynid most part of all theyr carredge to the number of 160 carts, estimed at 100,000 crowns, besydes prisnars of sundrie condicion, forcid them to take the guard of a great wood before Lusinian, 3 leagues from Poicters, wher they had for theyr better defence placid theyr artillerie. Owr footmen entred the wood with a volie of 8,000 shott, the count backt them in the face of the cannon which was dischargid by account 360 shott, kyle with the same but 6 and hurt 3. We lost in all 65; the enemy 12 capteyns of footemen and 700 others. This skyrmysh, or rather assaute, continid long within nyght, for if we had enjoyed the benefitt of daye, we had won theyr great shott from them. The 17, very earlie, we presentid them battell agayne, wher certeyn advancing themselves out of the wood unarmid, desyrid to park, enquyring severalye for theyr frynds and acquaytances, sum for his father, for his brother, and sum for theyr neyghbours, all affyrmyng we myght depart; for they ment not to abyde battell, saying they were for the malice of myschevous cardinall compel'd to wer armes agaynst theyr conscyence.

The 18^th^ to Vousale (*Vouzailles*) wher the princes sojorned 4 dayes, wher I had my congie, and returned to Rochelle. Sence my

comming from the campp, the news is that Monsr Briszack, the 24 of november, ment to distres count Montgomerie in his quartar, but by the admirall's policy he was prevented and lost 5 cornets of horse and 700 footemen. It is sayd for certayn that sundry tymes in theyr charging the enemy doth flyng away his pistolet and embrassythe those that doe encounter with them.

P.-script. The last of december the queen of Navarr was certifyed from the prince of Condee that deuk de Mall (*duc d'Aumale*), Guise's brother, with 11 cornets of horsemen and 5,000 footmen went to cut of the dewk of Deuponts, who was comming to joyn with the prince, but Monsr de Chamisey, who hath the leading of the prince of Orange's vauntgarde having intelligence therof, in one nyght made a cavalcade of 16 leagues, distressid the dewk de Mall, overthrew all his footmen and forcid hymself with part of his horsmen in Reynes (*Reims*), wher he is nowe besygid by the prince of Orange. The second of januarie Monsr d'Andelot and count Montgomerie did wynne a combbat near to Sommers (*Saumur*) in this ordar: Monsr d'Andelot and the count offrid to parle with th' enemie, and theyr soldyers drawyng near to hear the same, owers on the contrary sied, brack suddenly certayn barrs of windose, entrid in and put all to the sword, recompensing heavin the cruelty which was first offrid by the Philistiens at Milloy before, contrarie to ther promes.

The Kyng's armie is devidid in garrisons opon the river of Loyr to hyndar ower passeige. The prince lyeth nowe at Teward (*Thouars*). The 9 of this present Saynt Michells was wonne, wher all was lykwys put to the sword: theyr warrs growe more crewell then afore.

The Prince de Navarre to Cecil.

10 janvier 1569.

Monsieur Cecill, encores que par la lettre que je vous ay naguières escripte de ce lieu par celluy que M. le prince de Condé, mon oncle, et moy, avons despesché en Angleterre, et par le discours qu'il a emporté quant et soy, vous ayez véritablement entendu l'estat de noz armes, et l'occasion pour laquelle nous les avons en main, si juste et si légitime, que par les seuls bons offices que vous faictes envers la Royne, vostre souveraine, pour nostre aide et assistance, vous approuvés assez manifestement noz actions, dont je loue Dieu, si n'ay-je pas voulu laisser partir le Sr de Douet, présent porteur, gentilhomme d'honneur et de qualité, envoyé de la part dudict seigr

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prince, mon oncle, et de la mienne, devers ladicte dame royne, pour la révérer, comme nous devons, de son secours et assistance, sans vous faire ce mot de lettre, pour vous prier, Monsieur Cecill, de continuer envers ladicte dame voz bonnes intentions et faveur de la cause que nous soustenons, et Dieu, qui est le juste juge de noz actions, le vous saura et vouldra bien rendre, et de nostre part, qui sommes assemblés en son nom, et pour son service, ne laisserons rien en arrière de nostre devoir et pouvoir pour la recognoissance de voz bonnes voluntés et offices; M. le cardinal de Chastillon, mon cousin, qui est par delà, aura bien souvent de noz nouvelles, et vous aussi, sans vous desguiser aucune chose, comme voluntiers font noz ennemys, qui chassent la vérité en toutes sortes. Cependant je vous recommanderay encores la continuation de voz bonnes affections, et supplieray le Créateur vous donner, Monsieur Cecill, bonne et longue vie.

De Thouars, ce dixième jour de janvier 1569.

Votre bon et affectionné amy,

HENRY.

(A similar letter from the Prince de Condé of the same date.)

The Prince de Navarre to Queen Elizabeth.

2 février 1569.

Madame, s'en alant le sieur de Vezines, présant porteur, devers vous, ne l'ay pas voulu laisser partir sans vous escripre ce mot de lettre, pour toujours me ramentevoir en vostre bonne grâce et souvenance, et vous offrir mon affectionnée voluncté à vous faire service, quand il plaira à Dieu m'en donner quelque bonne occasion. Atendant laquelle et remetant aussi audict sieur de Vezines à vous faire bien amplement entendre de nos nouvelles, je salue voz bonnes grâces de mes plus humbles recommandations, et supplie Dieu vous donner, Madame, heureuse et longue vie.

De Niort, le segund jour de febvrier,

Vostre très-humble et obéissant cousin,

HENRY.

The Princes de Navarre and de Condé to the Prince of Orange.[1]

10 février 1569.

Monsieur mon cousin, nous avons entendu qu'on a commencé vous tenir propos de la paix, et comme nous sçavons au vray que

[1] The originals of this and the three following letters are not in the State Paper Office, but copies of them, sent to Cecil by Norreys on the 9th of May.

c'est ung moyen par lequel nos ennemys veulent empescher ou retarder le secours qu'il vous plaist nous donner, nous vous prions, sans aucunement vous arrester à ces beaux langages que le cardinal de Lorreine et ses adhérans font mectre en avant pour vous tromper et circumvenir, vous acheminer le plus diligemment qu'il vous sera possible au passage de la rivière de Loire, où estant, nous aurons moyen de nous joindre avec vous, et nous rendre maistres de noz ennemys, de Dieu, de bien et repos de ce royaume, mais du résidu de toute la chrestienté, et lors nous leur baillerons telle loy que nous vouldrons, et que nous congnoistrons estre nécessaire pour vivre cy-après en seureté et repos de conscience, vous priant, Monsieur mon cousin, croire qu'il n'y a aucun moyen d'y parvenir que par une bonne et advantageuse victoire, ou après ce que nous aurons réduictz noz ennemys à tel poinct et extrémité qu'ils puissent toucher au doigt qu'il n'y a moyen de nous pouvoir résister; ce qu'ils sentiront et recongnoistront en brief, et aussitost que nous serons joinctz, unis ensemble. Et sur ce, faisant fin à la présente par noz bien humbles recommandations à voz bonnes grâces, nous prierons le Créateur vous tenir, Monsieur mon cousin, en sa saincte garde.

De Nyort, le 10 fév. 1569.

Voz plus affectionnez cousins et parfaicts amys,

HENRY. LOYS DE BOURBON.

(*Au dessoubz :*) Messeigneurs les princes m'ont commandé de me signer à ce bout de lectre,

CHASTILLON.

The Princes de Navarre and de Condé to the French Gentlemen serving in the Army of the Prince of Orange.

10 février 1569.

A MM. de Janlys, de Mouy, Morvilliers, Argenlieu et autres seigneurs, gentilzhommes de France, estans à l'armée de Mons. le prince d'Orange.

Messieurs, nous avons entendu que on est entré avec vous en quelque pourparler de paix, et, parce que nous savons certainement que c'est vraye ruze, de laquelle noz ennemys usent à leur acoustumé pour destourner, desgoutter les forces estrangères qui viennent à nostre secours, nous vous avons bien voulu prier ne vous endormir là-dessus, et néantmoins vous faire entendre la forme dont nous

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avons usé lorsqu'on a envoyé de par deçà quelques-ungs pour nous tenir semblable langage. Le sieur de Malassise, maistre d'hostel ordinaire du Roy, sur le commencement des troubles, estant à Lymoge, nous envoya demander sauf-conduict pour nous faire entendre quelque chose de la part (comme il disoit) de S. M. auquel nous feismes responce que tant que le Roy seroit tenu et possédé par le cardinal de Lorreine et ses adhérans, ennemys de ce royaume et du repos public, nous ne recevrions aucune chose qui nous seroit dicte ou escripte soubz le nom de S. M. comme venant d'elle, ains comme estant forgée et bastie en la bouticque dudict cardinal. Il n'y a que deux ou trois jours que le sieur de Poully est venu à nous de la part (comme il disoit) de la Royne, pour adviser s'il y avoit quelque moyen de pacifier les affaires ; auquel sans permectre qu'il entrast plus avant en besongne, on couppa broche, et luy dict-on que, tant que le cardinal de Lorreine et autres pensionnaires du roy d'Espaigne, ancien et capital ennemy de la France, seroit auprès de nostre roy, on ne presteroit l'oreille à aucun accord que on voulust proposer, bien certains que, demeurant S. M. asservie et gouvernée par telle manière de gens, tous les traictez et accordz ne seroient qu'autant de piéges tenduz pour nous tromper et surprendre. Il nous semble que vous debvez tenir semblable langage à ceux qui vous parleront de la paix, leur remonstrant en oultre qu'il seroit mal séant que telles choses fussent par vous traictéez et maniées sans nous en advertir et nous faire entendre ce qu'ils auront proposé. Ce sera ung moyen pour nous advertir souvent de voz nouvelles et de l'estat de voz affaires, vous priant cependant n'intermectre pour cela aucun exploict ou effort de guerre, ny perdre aucun advantaige que vous peussiez gaigner sur nos ennemys, et vous résouldre qu'il n'y a moyen d'acquérir repos en ce royaume, que par une bonne et advantageuse victoire, ou bien après ce que nous aurons réduictz nosdictz ennemys à tel poinct et extrémité qu'ilz puissent toucher au doigt qu'il n'y a moyen de nous résister, ce que, Dieu aydant, ils sentiront et recongnoistront en brief, et si tost que nous serons joinctz et uniz ensemble. A ceste heure, nous vous prions, pour l'honneur de Dieu, sans vous endormir en telles et semblables sorcelleries, vous acheminer au passage de la rivière de Loire, en la plus grande diligence qu'il vous sera possible, et espérons, par ce moyen, vous veoir en brief. Nous prierons le Créateur vous tenir, Messieurs, en sa saincte garde.

De Nyort, ce 10e febvrier 1569.

Voz bien affectionnez parens et meilleurs amys,

HENRY. LOYS DE BOURBON.

J'ai eu congé de Messeigneurs les princes de vous faire icy mes bien affectionnées recommandations. APP. II.

CHASTILLON.

The Princes de Navarre and de Condé to the Duc de Deux-Ponts.

20 février 1569.

Monsieur mon cousin, la présente sera pour vous prier de, suivant les nostres dépesches que nous vous avons fètes, vous acheminer droict à nous sans faire séjour en aucun lieu, vous en venir droict gaigner le passage de la rivière de Loyre à la part où ce porteur vous dira, espérans, avec l'aydo de Dieu, qu'estans joinctz nous aurons bientost la raison de noz ennemys. Nous avons advoué par noz despesches précédentes, comme nous faisons par cestuy-cy, les actes d'hostilité que vous ferez en France, comme tendans au bien de la cause pour laquelle nous avons prins les armes, de quoy nous vous eussions envoyé actes en forme authentique, si nous eussions trouvé un homme qui s'en feust voulu charger; mais ce sera à nostre arrivée que nous vous fournirons de cela, et de toutes aultres choses nécessaires pour l'exécution de noz conventions. Les vicomtes de Montauban se viennent joindre avec nous, ayans sur le départ deffaict 4 cornettes de çavallerie du S^r^ de Montluc. M. de Piles a aussi deffaict 4 enseignes de gens de pied du dict Montluc, dont il nous a envoyé les drappeaux. Vous ne sçauriez croyre les bons et heureux succès que Dieu donne journellement à son armée, qui portent certain témoignage qu'il la veult à ce coup rendre victorieuse sur ses ennemys. Et sur ce, faisant fin à la présente par nos bien humbles recommandations à voz bonnes grâces, nous prierons le Créateur vous tenir, Monsieur mon cousin, en sa saincte garde.

De Nyort, le xx febvrier 1569.

Voz très-affectionnez cousins et meilleurs amys,

HENRY. LOYS DE BOURBON.

III.

PAPIERS TROUVEZ SUR M. LE PRINCE DE CONDÉ

quand il fut tué, le 13 mars 1569, envoyez au Roy par le duc d'Anjou, le 17 mars 1569.

(*Bibliothèque nationale*, Colbert, XXIV, 186 à 191.)

APP. III.

1. (*The Queen of Navarre*) *A Monsieur le Prince mon Frère.*

Mon frère, vous m'avez faict fort grant plaisir de me mender de vos nouvelles; mays pensé que vous mandés que la rénion que je say avoir tant faict de maus a esté atrapée, et que tout le mondo dit qu'il est échapé. Je vous prie mander la vérité. Quant aus nouvelles de la Rochelle, je suis fort aise que tout sy porte bien, ormis la rendision des prises, où j'ay veu tant de . . . . qui est partie. J'ay aujourd'hui entretenu Sessac, qui m'a descouvert le fait de M. de Gramont, et entre autre chose, que la Ryne disoit que quant le prince d'Orange estest en France, il disoit qu'il ne se pouvoit desclarer, quant il en est sorty, il prometoit se trouver à la bataille. S'il vous plaist, ce entredemeurera entre vous et moy, sinon que le disant je ne seys point aleyner.

Vous prenez la payne me mander que mon filz se porte bien: j'en suis bien aise, et qu'il vous fasse service comme à son propre père. Je suplie Dieu vous faire la grâce de recongnoistre son . . . . et vous donner, mon frère, très-longue vie de par vostre . . . . servante,

JEHANNE.

2. (*The Admiral to the Prince de Condé*).

Jarnac, 11 mars 1569.

Monseigneur, je vous envoye des lettres que m'escrivent hier MM. de Sainct-Mesme et de Sainct-Ermine, et une d'un médecin qui est auprès de M. de Jarnac, affin que vous la voiez et en faciez ce qu'il vous plaira. Au demourant, le capitaine Pluviaux print hier quelques prisonniers de divers compagnies, entre lesquelz y en a un qui m'a dit qu'à l'arrivée des ennemys à Chasteauneuf il fut rendu. Toutesfoys je ne le puis bonnement croire. J'ay envoyé recognoistre, et, si j'apprens quelque chose, je ne faudray incontinent de vous en advertir; qui est tout ce que je vous puis escrire,

sinon pour me recommander très-humblement à voz bonnes grâces, APP. III.
priant le Créateur vous donner, Monseigneur, en très-parfaicte santé, très-heureuse et très-longue vye.

A Jarnac, ce XI mars.

Il vint hier un home, à ce que l'on m'a dit, de la maison de M. de Guerchi, qui dict que le bruict estoit de par delà que M. Daumalle a esté battu. Et dict aussy que le Roy avoit logé en la maison Davignan, qui est aud. Guerchi . . . . . trois lieues d'Auxerre, et qu'il venoit droict à la rivierre . . . . mais je ne sçay qu'en croire. J'ay envoyé recongnoistre . . . . font à Chasteauneuf et si le pont y est refect . . . . d'hier dict que l'armée de Monsieur debvoit . . . . tirer le chemin de Gascongne ainssy . . . . que je pourré apprendre, je ne fauldré . . . . l'home qui vient de la maison . . . . dict aussy que l'armée du prince . . . . Ponts estoit à Montecler. Dieu . . . .[1]

3. (*Saint-Eremyne to the Admiral*).

Angoulême, 10 mars 1569.

Monseigneur, nous vous avons touiour despeché en diligense é mandé le pais que tenoist nos enemis. Si viens tout à sette heure d'estre averty par homme qui vient de Paris, que la Raine a mandé a Moncieur frère du Roy de vous combattre à quelque prix que ce soit, et, s'il ne se peult prestemant faire, qu'ilz se mesnent droict à Orléans en diligence. Moncieur de Aumalle a esté fort battu antre le Pont-à-Moson et Nansy par Mons. le prince d'Orange et le duc des Deux-Ponts. A Paris n'eurent jamais sy grant peur; tous les escoliers s'enfuient; j'en ay envoyié querrir donc quy en sont partis desfroi. Se que je pourai savoir je ne faudray en diligense de vous le faire antandre. Monceigneur, je suplie Dieu vous conserver.

D'Angoulesme, le 10e de mars.

Vostre très humble et très-fidelle serviteur,

S.-Eremyne.

J'ay bien resut ung aultre avertisemant, mais s'est sur les surprize de sette ville, à quoy, moiennant l'aide de Dieu, nous remédierons bien.

[1] This postscript is in the Admiral's own hand. Several words are lost, through the torn condition of the leaf.

4. *Advis à l'Amiral.*[1]

Du 9 mars 1569.

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Les choses qu'il fault faire entendre à Monsieur l'admiral sont:

Premièrement, que tous à présent je viens de sçavoir par deux gentilz hommes qui viennent de Mussidan, que la garnison dudict lieu deffict devant hier tous les soldats qui estoient dedans le chastel de Montréal;[2] M. de Pilles après pris la Sauvetat et Eymet, qui sont deux petites villes à trois lieues de S^te^-Foy.[3]

Item, que à Parcou[4] y a quelque nombre de soldat qui se dict avoir charge de garder le passage dudict Parcou, qui font et commettent d'incroyables exactions et ransonemenz sur le peuple de là auprès, mesme sur de mes subjects, et telles, que s'il ne plaist à Monseigneur y remédier, les gentilz hommes circonvoisins, seigneurs desdictz subjectz, sont en chemin avec partie du peuple de s'opposer à telles vexations, et en pourroit sortir du scandale, s'il n'y est pourveu; ce qui se pourra faire aisément, s'il plaist à mondict Seigneur de commander a celluy qui est chef desdictz soldats, qui est le Sablon, de se retirer vers Messieurs les princes ou vers M. de Pilles; car il ne sert de rien, ne sesdicts soldats, audict passaige, sinon de fouller le peuple, et que pour le soulagement dudict paoure peuple, je me donneray bien garde, avec les forces et garnisons que j'ay en ce lieu, dudict passaige, s'il plaist à mondict sieur l'admiral me le commander, comme j'ay tousjours faict et fais nonobstant la susdicte garnison dudict Parcou. En oultre ce, touttesfois et quantes qu'il sera de besoing, je drescheray en ce lieu ung pont de bateau, sur lequel on pourra aussi aisément et avec plus grande scureté passer qu'audict Parcou, et ay lesdict batteaux tousjours prest et les ay eus despuys l'advertissement qui me fust donné par mondict sieur de Pilles, de luy bailler passaige et icelluy asseurer, comme j'ay tousjours faict, grace à Dieu, jusques à présent, et feray cy-après avec son aide et faveur.

Davantaige, fauldra advertir mondict sieur que l'ennemy est à quatre lieues d'icy, et que d'heures à aultre on me vient donner advertissement qu'il se délibère acheminer icy pour empescher le passaige à Messieurs les vicomtes et à M. de Pilles, et mesmement que tous présentement j'en ay receu ung de bonne part et d'ung

[1] Sent by the hand of Sainte-Mesme. See the foregoing letter from the Admiral.

[2] A league and a half E.S.E. of Mussidan.

[3] On the Dordogne. La Sauvetat and Eymet are on the Dropt, to the S.E. of Sainte-Foy.

[4] On the Dordogne, to the S.E. of Ribeirac.

papiste; mais j'espère, moiennant l'aide de nostre Dieu, de les bien recepvoir s'ils y viennent, et qu'ils ne mettront en ceste place le pied, ou ilz me passeront sur le ventre.

Vous n'oblierez aussy de faire entendre à mondict Seigneur les fortifications que j'ay faictes et fois faire de jour à aultre, et comment par le moien de ce et de la garnison que je tiens, je tiens, grace à la bonté de nostre Dieu, ce passaige asseuré et ses environs, pour tous ceulx qu'il plèra à mondict Seigneur y envoyer et faire passer, et que aultrement, il n'y auroit aultre moien de passaige ne seureté pour tous les nostres.

Au surplus, dire à mondict sieur que je le supplie très-humblement vous vouloir despêcher en diligence, d'aultant que la chose requiert extresme diligence, et s'asseurer que je luy feraye service très-humblement jusques à la dernière goutte de mon sang, et pour son particulier et pour le général, que je le supplie croire qu'il n'y a gentilhomme en France qui de meilleure volunté expose bien et vie que moy.

Et faudra bien remonstrer que ledict lieu de Parcou n'est autrement fort, ne fermé, ne commode à garnison, sinon pour une retraite de voleurs et gens de mauvaise [vie]. Pour des quels purger le païs sera de besoing de faire desloger les susdicts, et aussi prier mondict sieur de me mander comment il luy plèra que je me gouverne en ces affaires, affin d'appaiser beaucoup de gentilz hommes, qui seront pour courir sus aux susdicts, si bientost il ne plaist à mondict sieur de nous faire entendre sa volunté.

5. *Nouvelles diverses de Paris envoyées à M. l'Admiral.*[1]

Monseigneur, voicy desjà le sixiesme message que nous avons envoyé depuis six semaines pour vous advertir de tout ce qui se passe par deçà:

Premièrement quant à nostre estat: tous ceux de la Religion sont ou prisonniers, ou fugitifs, ou cachés. Toutefois, ceux que Dieu a réservé ne s'espargnent à s'employer en tout ce qu'il vous pléra leur commander. Depuis le premier édict, par lequel les officiers de la Religion sont empesché de leur office, il en est venu

[1] By the physician of the Comte de Jarnac; see above, p. 298, the Admiral's letter. This note, written doubtless in haste, on a strip of paper 36 centimètres in length by 7 centimètres in breadth, was found within the gauntlet of the Prince de Condé, as appears from the letter of the Duc d'Anjou to the King, dated March 17.

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deux autres : l'un, pour continuer les temporisemens et prouver qu'ils ont fait leurs Pasques et esté à confesse, sur peine d'être privés de leur office ; l'autre, pour les contraindre d'envoyer procuration entre les mains du Roy pour résigner leurs offices, et ce, soubz espérance qu'on leur en fera rente en l'Hostel-de-Ville, combien qu'on y ait arresté toutes les rentes de ceux de la Religion, et après qu'ils auront vescu un an entier en la papauté, qu'ils seront pourveus d'autres offices. M. le mareschal de Montmorency n'ose consister en cette ville, à cause des embusches que luy a fait dresser le cardinal par ceux de ceste ; de sorte que le jour mesme que on receu en ceste ville Monsieur le Duc, il deslogea sans trompette, et pour quelques jours s'estant tenu à Chantilly, avec deux de ses fidelles, il a commencé à visiter son gouvernement, et est à présent en Soissonnois ou à Laon. Monsieur le Duc gouverne seul, mais gouverne par Saint-Supplice, en son conseil par l'archevesque de Sens, auquel conseil de naguères à diverses fois a esté arresté de s'assurer de M. le mareschal ; outre les libelles diffamatoires qu'on sème contre luy, et mesme dans un placard du 13 de février il estoit appelé v^e^ ameau (?), avec la planche de sa maison ; et advertissemens donnés aux Parisiens de se garer d'eux comme d'ennemys, et exhortation . . . . de lui courir sus et contre quelques officiers qui ont intelligence avec luy. On y void tout ouvertement l'Espagnol commander entre le cardinal et ledit archevêque, lesquelz se servent de leurs gens appostez à leur dévotion comme :. des présidens Hennequin, procureurs du Roy, conseillers du Drac et Poisle et quelques autres, et d'un Ranchon, prévost des mareschaux, lequel, depuis 15 jours, à la poursuite de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, fit estrangler, à deux heures du soir, un pylote portugais qui avoit servi contre les Espagnols, ou à Madrid au fils de Montluc, et fut jecté en l'eau le corps tronqué, et ce combien que ledit pylote fut rédintégré par lettres authentiques du Roy. En quoy les lettres de cachet du cardinal ont eu plus grande vertu ; lequel mesme Ranchon amena auparavant un. qui revenoit devers le prince d'Aurenge, s'estoit retiré en sa maison, lequel vous avoit servi de fourrier de compagnie ès derniers troubles, et le feist pendre tout boté, sans que jamais on le pût faire varier de sa constance, qui fut admirable. Ils se servent aussi entre autres corporiaux de deux ou trois bestiers désespérés qui font les emprisonnements et autres exécutions, sans aucune figure de justice, lesquels n'estant rassasié d'avoir emprisonné touz ceux qu'ils ont pu, font à présent requeste au Roy qu'il leur soit permis de rechercher, par toutes villes, és maisons des papistes qui ont retiré leurs parents et amis de la Religion.

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Ilz en trouvent un grand nombre, jusques à cent ou six vingt, desquelz il y en a des plus notables, nonobstant serment de caution qu'on a exigé d'eux; entre autres ilz tiennent fort étrangement le . . . . Portal (?) pour récompense de sa légation, luy imposant qu'il vous a entamé termes de paix, comme venant de la Royne, dont elle ne luy avoit donné charge, le capitaine Pré de Bloys, gentilhomme de M. de Mouy, Galandiny Hamon, secrétaire du Roy, nonobstant deux lettres patentes obtenues du Roy, pour sa délivrance, luy imposant qu'il vous a escrit, etc., et plusieurs autres factions de marque et de bon esprit, les bourgeois qui ne peuvent prendre fort intérêt, l'habitant des faubourgs et forces estrangers François chassés (?). Quant à l'armée du prince d'Aurenge, après avoir fait par trois fois constante response au Roy qu'il ne sortiroit du royaume qu'il ne veist la Religion restablie, s'en est retourné par je ne sçay quel soudain mouvement, dont on allégue diverses causes, bien que luy eussions fait entendre vostre intention de l'advouer; et, comme les seigneurs de Genlys et de Mouy nous eussent demandé assistance de deniers, j'envoyé lettre par vostre moyen à M. le cardinal de Chastillon pour recouvrer deniers; nous leur feismes tenir response audit sieur cardinal, que, s'ils vouloyent aller à la teste de ceux de Picardie, il leur feroit tenir 80,000 escus; mais ce fust trop tard pour le reculement dudict prince d'Orange. Desquelles choses nous vous donnasmes soudain advertissement.

Depuis 15 jours, a passé par ceste ville le capitaine de Bas, despêché de vostre part vers ledit prince d'Aurenge, lequel s'estoit retiré jusqu'à Strasbourg pour assister aux nopces de la fille du prince palatin et du fils du Lantgrave, où se tient une diète à laquelle le Roy a envoyé Laforest. On dit que le duc Auguste de Saxe y sera esleu roy des Romains, pour foreclore à l'advenir de l'empire la maison d'Autriche. La royne d'Angleterre y a envoyé le sieur de Hillegay, qui a espousé la sœur de la femme du sieur Cécile, secrétaire d'Angleterre, et ce afin qu'il y resta toujours pour haster les Allemands de vous aller joindre, et le commandement de faire entendre tout ce qui se passera entre les Allemands à M. Norreis, ambassadeur de la royne d'Angleterre en France, affin qu'elle et vous en soyez advertis. Elle commanda à sondit ambassadeur en ceste ville qu'il nous fist entendre qu'elle avoit envoyé 20,000 escus dès le 1er de décembre au duc des Deux-Ponts, afin que luy avec nous vous le fissions sçavoir, avec toutes amples promesses de vous donner tousjours aide; et que vous communiquiez souvent avec son dit ambassadeur en ceste ville, de tout ce que vous lui voudrez faire entendre. Combien que ledit ambassadeur

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soit en court avec tous les ambassadeurs, toutes fois ne laisserez d'adresser toutes choses en son logis, devant l'arsenal, au sieur de la Chapelle, de la part de ceste . . . , où ledit ambassadeur a laissé Madame sa femme et la pluspart de sa famille. Nous sommes advertis, au vray, que ledit prince d'Orange est joint au duc des Deux-Ponts et qu'ils s'acheminent vers la France avec 14,000 chevaux et 18,000 de pied et 30 pièces d'artillerie. Le prince Casimir s'y pourra bien joindre, estant fasché de n'avoir rien receu du Roy sur ce qui lui est deu de reste qu'il a demandé de naguères. Les François tiennent l'avant-garde. Le Roy a commandé à Daumalle de les combattre hors le royaume, à quelque prix que ce soit. Il a aussi despêché par ceste ville le sieur de Sefar (?), lieutenant du duc de Guise, vers Monsieur, pour haster les 8 cornettes de rheistres qu'on envoie contre vous, afin de vous livrer bataille à quelque prix que ce soit. Quant à l'estat d'Angleterre, il est en mauvais mesnage avec le duc d'Albe, d'aultant qu'il a saisi en Flandres tous les Anglois et leurs biens. De quoy irritée, la royne d'Angleterre a fait de mesme contre les Flamans et Espagnols qui estoient en Angleterre, ayant pris quelques vaisseaux où il y avoit plus de 45,000 escus; et des deux ambassadeurs, l'espagnol en a si bien joué son roolle, que l'ambassadeur du duc d'Albe n'a plus depuis parlé avec celuy d'Espagne, et c'est ce qui empesche que la royne d'Angleterre n'a encore receu response de l'espagnol. On avoit commencé à Rouen et Boulogne de prendre les Anglois à sa succitation, mais le Roy les a fait délivrer depuis huit jours, aiant peur d'entrer en guerre contre l'Angleterre. La royne d'Angleterre, de sa part, pour avoir meilleure couleur d'assister aux François, a fait un édict défendant aux François de débiter en Angleterre les marchandises qu'ils ont butinez sur la mer. Le roy partit de Joinville le 14 février pour aller à Toul, et de là on ne sçait où il doit tirer, à Nancy ou à Langres. Le comte de Vaudemont et le duc de Lorraine, depuis, sont venus veoir le Roy, et tout exhorte à la paix; mais le cardinal et la Royne et leurs sectateurs n'en veulent ouyr parler, aimant mieux hazarder tout l'Estat que de rien perdre de leur crédit. On fait accroire au Roy qu'il a plus là . . . . de forces et moyen qu'il n'a, afin de l'iriter d'autant plus et luy donner vaine confiance. Le duc de Nemours a parlé si haut qu'il a obtenu d'estre lieutenant général de Monsieur, soubz la condition qu'il baillera sa charge de la cavallerie légère au duc de Guise. Daumalle conduit l'avant garde. Ilz ont receu 4,000 Suisses et autres 3,500 rheistres, soubz le jeune Lantgrave, le comte de Wirtemberg et le marquis de Baden, mais desquels on n'est

asseuré s'ilz combattront. Ilz ont beaucoup de gens, mais ilz ne les savent plus soustenir, en étanz venus si bas que le Roy demande à nostre ville 60,000 escus à rente, qu'il ne peut trouver. Ilz ont engagé les reliques, le .... de la Royne et les joyaux de la couronne, et les ambassadeurs étrangers s'excusaient de plus rien fournir. L'Espagne est troublée par les Maures. Le cardinal de Guise y est encore fort malade et n'a guères advancé en sa légation. L'Espagnol a écrit au duc d'Albe que le plus grand plaisir qu'il luy sauroit faire, ce seroit de faire tomber tout l'orage sur la France. Sanxerre a véritablement soutenu trois assaultz et a contrainct l'ennemy de lever le siége, avec perte de plus de 500 bons hommes et des plus braves capitaines, dont le Roy est fort irrité contre d'Antraigues; ce que Mar. . . . s'est venu excuser en cour, avec promesse d'y retourner et de bien faire, si le Roy l'y veut dépescher tout seul. Il seroit bien besoing de donner secours à ladite ville. On mène toutes les pouldres et munitions à Orlé(ans) de ceste ville pour y retourner; ceste ville est toute . . . . de pouldre, de munitions et de matières pour en faire. Le peuple et la pluspart des plus notables sont fort lassez et ennuyés de la guerre.

Sur ce, faisant fin, Monseigneur, nous prions le Seigneur qu'il préside tousjours sur vos conseils par son esprit, et vous cotoye de ses armées d'anges, pour vous délivrer et vous donner victoire, et à toutes ses églises, sur ses ennemys. Vous présentant nostre humble service et obéyssance et nous recommandons à voz bonnes grâces et de tous les seigneurs qui vous accompagnent. Nous avons veu lettre du roy de Danemarch au prince d'Aurenge, par lesquelles il s'excuse à vous venir joindre et luy envoye 3,000 chevaux et deniers.

6. (*The Admiral to*) *Monseigneur Monseigneur le Prince de Condé.*

Jarnac, 11 mars 1569.

Monseigneur, je vous ay, depuys ce matin, mandé deux fois de mes nouvelles, et depuis j'ay receu la lettre qu'il vous a pleu m'escrire par ce porteur. Et quant à ce qu'il vous plaist que je vous mande du logeis que nous ferons aujourd'huy, si j'en eusse changé je n'eusse failly à le vous mander; mais il fault que j'attende davant que rien changer de veoir ce que deviendront nos ennemys. Je viens d'avoir advertissement que les ennemys marchent le chemain de Congnac, et de faict nous voyons acheminer quelques trouppes de cavallerie à notre veue. S'ils veulent aller du costé de Congnac, en mettant une bonne troupe d'infanterie là dedans, je croy que c'est ce

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que nous debverions desirer. J'auré tousiours gens aux champs, et ce que je pourré aprendre je vous en advertiré. Monseigneur, je prye Nostre Seigneur vous avoir en sa saincte garde et protection.

De Jarnac, ce xre de mars 1569.

Je vous supply, Monseigneur, regarder et mettre quelques hommes de bien dedans Congnac. L'on m'a dict que leurs bagages ne deslogent poinct.

Vostre très-humble et très-afectionné serviteur,

CHASTILLON.

(Wholly autograph.)

7. (*Saint-Mesme*) *A Monseigneur Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, Duc d'Anguyen et Pair de France.*

Angoulême, 12 mars 1569.

Monseigneur, despuys n'avoir heu cest honneur que de vous escripre, je n'ay rien guières apprins de nouveau, si ce n'est que les compagnies de MM. du Lude, Ruffec, des Cars, la Vauguyon et trouppes de Richelieu marchent et s'en vont rendre à Chasteauneuf, par le chemin de deçà la rivière, et non de vostre cousté, et croy qu'ilz meynent l'argent pour faire fère monstre à l'armée de Monseigneur frère du Roy. Ilz se sont retranchez à Chasteauneuf, où ilz laissarent hier tout leur bagage, soubz la garde de partye de régiment du sieur de Joyeuse, comme j'ay entendu par tous ceux qui ont veu leur armée. Ilz sont assez fort de cavallerie, mays non d'infanterie. Ilz ont racoustré le pont dudit Chasteauneuf, et au bout de celuy ont pareillement faict ung retranchement. Ilz sont après pour trouver les moyens qu'ilz peuvent chercher, comme j'ay esté adverti, pour prendre par intelligence ceste ville. J'y auray l'œuil le mieux qu'il me sera possible, pour me garder de surprinse, tant pour le service que je doibs à mon Dieu, à cette cause et à vostre grandeur, de sorte que j'espère qu'il n'en viendra inconvénient pour ce regard, avecque l'assistance que j'ay des bons cappiteynes qui en cela feront bien leur debvoir.

Monseigneur, hyer un Allemand, estant à Dirac et venant dudit Chasteauneuf et camp de mondit sieur, s'esmoya de M. de Nanteuil, et lui mandoit qu'il me priast l'envoyer querir pour me dire chose qui vous estoit de grande importance, ce que je fis; et l'ayant en ce lieu l'ay bien incontinant voulu despêcher pour le vous envoyer. J'ay trouvé un peu estrange la façon qu'il a layssé le camp de mondit

sieur. En cest endroit, je supplieray Nostre Seigneur vous donner en perpétuelle santé, Monseigneur, très-bonne, prospère et longue vie. APP. III.

A Englesme, le XII^e^ de mars 1569.

Vostre très-humble et très-obéissant subject et serviteur,

S^t^-MESME.

(Signature alone autograph.)

8. *Logis de la Bataille de unzième Mars mil v^c^ soixante-neuf.*

Messeigneurs les princes et leur suite . .	Congnac.
Leur garde	Sainct-Brys.
Pour leur train	Sainct-Sauveur et Louzac.
Monsieur de Vaudine	Richemont.
M. d'Anconne	Javrezac.
M. Myrabel	Sainct-Trojan.
M. de Blacon	Xainctes.
M. le Prince	Chérac.
La compaignie de Monsieur le Prince soubz la charge de M. de Courbozon . .	Mons.
La compaiginie de Monsieur le Prince soubz la charge de M. des Essarts . . .	Sainct-Saulvan.
M. d'Anguys	Chapnières.
M. le comte de la Roche	Mesnac.
M. de Verac	La Chapelle.
MM. le Vidame, de Saincte-Marie, des Aige, d'Aulx	Sainct-Brys.
M. de Mirambeau de la Caze . . .	Brizambourg.
M. de Noix	Sainct-André.
M. Lavardyn	Dampierre.
M. de Montejean	Le port Chauneau et Orlac.
M. de Chaulmont	Escoueux.
M. de Sainct-Martin et de Sainct-Sturyn. .	S^t^-Sulpice.
M. de la Rochesnard	Migron.
M. de Fonterailles	Nanthelle.
M. le Comte de Choisy	Sainct-Hillaire.
M. de Tracy et Sey	Ogeac (*Aujac*).
M. de Mauperyer et d'Auconne . . .	Authon et Audouec.
M. de Robodange	Aumaigne.

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M. de Languillier	Burye et Villars.
M. de Montlieu	Au Seurre.

By a comparison of this document with Cassini's map, or with the sheets recently published by the War Department, it will be observed that the greater part of these villages lie in a line along the road from Cognac to Saint-Jean-d'Angely, for a distance of six leagues. It was this comparison which suggested to us the belief that from the eleventh of March onward, Condé's plan, more or less determined, was to retreat towards the upper waters of the Charente, and to attempt a march upon Sancerre through the province of Berry; though this has been nowhere positively affirmed, or even stated in so many words.

How is it possible, on any other hypothesis, to explain his assigning such quarters as these, when for twenty-four hours, or twelve at least, he had known that the enemy was on the other side of the Charente? The silence of historians on this point may be accounted for, partly by the slight importance which they attached to the question, and partly by the evident hesitation of Condé—a hesitation of which his movements and his orders afford evident proof. These movements and orders admit of no doubt. Besides, contemporary writers are all more or less agreed in saying that this had been his plan before the march of the Duc d'Anjou from Chinon upon Confolens, and that his march to join the Vicomtes was only a preliminary to his returning with them to meet the Germans. The latter was therefore his final aim. Again, it is agreed by all, that on the twelfth, the Prince had given orders to the Admiral to join him the next morning *at daybreak*, that on the thirteenth, he had nearly all his troops *to the left* of the field of battle, that is, to the north of Bassac; and that on this day he was *moving off from* Bassac, when he received the Admiral's appeal. It is not said what direction he was taking; but how could he think of returning towards Saintes or Cognac, after what he knew of the enemy's position? Finally, Tavannes, who himself wrote an account of this campaign (inserted in the *Mémoires* edited by his son), and who was better able than anyone else both to describe it and to judge of it, speaks plainly of the anxiety that he had felt on account of a projected retreat of the Protestants towards the east. Before he would allow the Royal army to cross the Charente, he took care to ascertain that the Protestants were not crossing it in the direction of Montignac. Further, a Protestant narrative of the period speaks of orders having been given to the army to take a line of march between Châteauneuf and

Angoulême, which is impossible. But, making allowance for the inaccuracies which characterise this narrative upon all topographical points, who does not see that this hint points to an eastward march? Our conviction has been again strengthened by the evidence of the letters found upon Condé's person; in his then condition, the tidings of the march and of the success of the Duc de Deux-Ponts were well calculated to excite in him an eager desire to effect a junction with that Prince.

We have thought it right to enter into these details, which may perhaps appear trivial, because this is the only point on which we have been compelled to have recourse to conjectures of our own; we have sought to exhibit the foundations that there are for such conjectures. Every other statement in this history is found in some of the contemporary memoirs, documents, and narratives, which have been carefully collated, or in the pages of historians, who, though not always present at the events they relate, yet have had the opportunity of consulting eye-witnesses—of La Popelinière, De Thou, D'Aubigné, and Davila.

We may add, in conclusion, that of Condé's three battles, that of Jarnac is the one in the relation of which there are the greatest discrepancies among contemporary narrators. We have done our best to harmonize the accounts, both with each other, and with the natural features of the scene.

The following letter accompanied the papers just laid before the reader:—

(*The Duc d'Anjou*) *Au Roy Monseigneur.*

Segonzac, 17 mars 1569.

Monseigneur, pour le desir que j'avois de vous advertir sur-le-champ de la victoire qu'il a pleu à Dieu vous donner sur voz ennemys le XIII^e^ de ce moys et de ne vous garder une si bonne et heureuse nouvelle trop longtemps, je n'eus loisir de vous rendre compte particulièrement de tout ce qui se passa ledit jour entre noz ennemiz et nous, et depuis, ayant fait dresser un recueil contenant à la vérité l'ordre que nous avons tenu pour aller chercher nos ennemys, les combattre et poursuivre encores après les avoir combattu, je n'ay voulu faillir à le vous envoyer par ce courrier, estimant, Monseigneur, que vous aurez contantement de ce qui y a esté faict pour vostre service, et que vous y trouverez de quoy louer Dieu grandement d'avoir esté servy de cueur et d'affection de tant de bons et vaillans serviteurs, capitaines et gens de bien qui sont en vostre armée; par où il est aisé à congnoistre que Dieu est protecteur de son église

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et de la justice de vostre cause, et qu'il vous a réservé assez de gens de bien en vostre royaulme pour abbaisser l'orgueil de voz ennemis, et réduire voz subjectz rebelles en vostre obéissance. Cependant, pour avoir entière et meilleure congnoissance de ceulx de noz ennemis qui ont esté tuez sur-le-champ et prins prisonniers, et affin qu'ils ne puissent estre mis en liberté par argent ou par la faveur de ceulx qui les tiennent, j'ay faict très-exprès commandement que tous ceulx qui en ont en vostre armée eussent à m'en advertir et les mettre en évidence, leur deffendant très-expressément ne les laisser aller pour rançon ou aultrement sans mon congé et consentement. Et depuis j'ay dépesché ung de mes gentilz hommes par tous les régimens, pour sçavoir au vray le nombre desdits prisonniers et en dresser un roolle certain, lequel je ne fauldray de vous envoyer incontinent, pour vous faire veoir à l'œil la grandeur de vostre victoire, laquelle, pour gaigner temps et pour rompre les desseings de plusieurs qui ont mauvaise volonté, et pour empescher ou retarder pour le moings les effortz des princes favorisans voz ennemiz, j'ay faict sçavoir incontinant par toute l'Ytalie, ayant dépesché le marquis de Rangon vers nostre saint père et le duc de Florence, le conte de Metula vers les ducs de Savoye, Ferrare, Parme et Urbin, et le sieur Camille vers la seigneurie de Venise et le duc de Mantoue, et leur ay baillé semblable recueil que celluy que je vous envoye des choses qui se sont passées despuis que j'ay commandé en l'armée qu'il vous a pleu de me bailler, ayant faict semblable office à l'endroict du roy d'Espagne, où j'ay envoyé le jeune Villequier, estimant que, en attendant qu'il vous pleust faire visiter les princes dessus-dicts de vostre part, il estoit nécessaire pour vostre service que cette nouvelle fust entendu par moy de tous lesdicts princes à la vérité, avant que nos ennemys se fussent esforcez de la desguiser et retenir encore par leurs mensonges les cueurs et affections de leurs amys à leur dévotion ; j'escrips à ceulx des ligues et à la royne d'Angleterre, et leur envoye le mesme discours que j'ay faict aux aultres princes dessus-dicts, ayant le tout adressé à voz ambassadeurs qui sont résidens auprès d'eulx, affin que touttes choses passassent avec plus de réputation et qu'elles apportassent plus d'auctorité et de faveur à voz affaires ; et vous envoye les dépesches que j'ay pour ce faictes à ladicte royne d'Angleterre et ausdictes ligues adressantes aux seigneurs de la Mothe et de Bellièvre, affin qu'il vous plaise de commander qu'elles soient portées avec celles qu'il vous plaira leur faire. J'ay aussi escript à mon frère, M le duc d'Alençon, à la cour de parlement, et aux prévost des marchans et eschevins de la ville de Paris, pour leur faire part de ceste

bonne nouvelle, et par mesme moyen en ay donné advis aux seigneurs de Montluc et à voz courtz de parlement de Thoulouze et Bordeaulx, ensemble aux seigneurs de Bellegarde et Montferrand, affin que ceste victoire contienne voz bons et loyaulx subjectz en leur debvoir, et mette crainte et terreur au cueur de tous voz ennemys. Et d'aultant, Monseigneur, qu'il est à présupposer que le reste de ceulx qui sont eschappez de ce combat se retirèrent ès places fortes qu'ilz ont à leur dévotion, et qu'il est impossible, cela advenant, que nous puissions de guères advancer voz affaires sans avoir l'artillerye et équipage nécessaire pour les forcer dans icelles, je vous supplie très-humblement commander que en toutte dilligence les vingt canons que vous avez ordonnés pour ceste armée nous soyent envoyés avec leur équipage ; car autrement ceste armée seroit inutile et ne vous serviroit que de despense. J'en escript à mondict frère M. le duc d'Alençon, affin qu'il tienne la main, que l'on y use de dilligence. Touttefois, Monseigneur, il est bien nécessaire que vous en faites encores une bonne recharge et que vous commandiez bien expressément que l'on y use de toute la plus grande dilligence qu'il sera possible ; car je congnois desjà par expérience que, pour n'avoir à présent ladite artillerye, nous n'avons pas grand moyen de forcer noz ennemys dedans Congnac, où ilz se sont la plus part retirez, et sommes en danger de n'advancer guères voz affaires et d'acquérir peu de réputation les poursuivant dedans le dit Congnac et aultres villes, où ilz ont mis tout ce qui leur est demeuré de leurs forces ; car nous n'avons pas moyen de les prendre ne forcer, tant à cause qu'elles sont fortifiées que pour le grand nombre de gens de guerre qui y sont à présent. Je partis avant-hier de Jarnac, où j'estois entré dès le jour que nous combatismes nozdits ennemis, ayant laissé dedans bonne garnison de gens de cheval et de pied, et vins coucher à Gentay près Congnac, et fust logée l'avant-garde de vostre armée assez près de ladite ville, et vostre artillerye et les Suisses entre eulx et moy, ès lieux les plus commodes et à propos pour se secourir l'ung l'autre que l'on avoit peu choisir. Et d'aultant que en ce lieu je ne pouvois guères faire aultre chose que de contenir ceulx de dedans de courir et s'esquarter par la campagne, je suis venu loger icy, distant d'une lieue dudit Jarnac et dudit Congnac de deux lieues, pour regarder à rassembler vos forces, et retirer des places qui sont icy alentour les compagnies de gens de guerre que j'y avois mises, laissant quelques soldats pour la garde du château d'icelles, selon l'importance et le danger des lieux où ilz estoient. Et affin de me pouvoir servir du régiment du sieur de Joyeuse et des autres forces qui estoient dedans Jarnac, je les en ay retirées, et ay laissé pour la garde dudit

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lieu la compagnie du sieur de la Chastre et quatre compagnies de gens de pied, et ay faict faire ung pont de batteaulx au dit lieu, et l'ay faict tellement disposer que ung fort que j'ay ordonné y estre faict deffend tant le pont de pierre que celluy que j'y ay faict faire. Je receuz hier les lettres qu'il vous a pleu m'escripre des premier et cinquiesme de ce moys par les deux courriers que je vous avois envoyez, sur les quelles je me réserve vous faire plus ample response par la première dépesche que je vous feray ; priant Dieu, Monseigneur, après avoir présenté mes très-humbles recommandations à vostre bonne grâce, vous donner en parfaicte santé très-longue et très-heureuse vie.

Escript au camp de Segonsac, le XVII^e^ jour de mars 1569.

Monseigneur, despuis la présente escripte, j'ay receu deux lettres du sieur de Monluc, desquelles je vous envoye le double et de l'instruction qu'il a baillée au sieur de Sallys, et par là vous verrez comme Dieu favorise voz affaires de tout coustez. Le sieur de Saultour m'a prié de vous escripre en sa faveur, à ce qu'il vous plaise luy donner la moitié de la compagnie du feu prince de Condé, et l'autre moitié au sieur de la Roue, suivant la requeste que je vous en ay dernyèrement faict, ce que je vous supplie très-humblement leur voulloir accorder. Je vous envoye aussi tous les papiers qui ont esté trouvés dedans les posches des chausses du feu prince de Condé, et une lettre non signée escripte bien serrée et menue qui vient de Paris, laquelle a esté trouvée dedans son gantellet après qu'il a esté tué.

Vostre très-humble et très-obéissant frère et subget,

HENRY.

(Original ; signature autograph. *Bibl. nationale*, Colbert, XXIV. 197.)

The same day the Duc d'Anjou wrote to the Queen-Mother a letter identical with this in substance, but containing fewer particulars.

IV.

Three unpublished letters signed by the Princes de Navarre and de Condé (Henri I.).

Les Princes de Navarre et de Condé, l'Amiral de Coligny, les S^rs^ d'Andelot et de la Rochefoucauld à . . . .

Saintes, 18 avril 1569.

On a esté bien fort ayse d'entendre de voz nouvelles si particulièrement, et d'autant que nous ne faisons doubte que noz ennemys n'ayent

faict semer le bruict faulx de l'événement de la rencontre que nous avons eue avecq eulx le 13 du mois passé, pour donner occasion d'effroy et estonnement à tous ceulx qui sont joinctz à ceste cause, et retarder les effectz de leur bonne volonté, on n'a voullu faillir de vous despescher incontinent ce porteur, qui vous asseurera de nostre bonne disposition et de la bonne volonté en laquelle est toute ceste armée, qui n'a, grâce à Dieu, d'autres pertes et dommaiges, sinon le regret et desplaisir que ung chascun de nous a receu que feu Mons^r^ le prince de Condé, ayant eu son cheval tué à une charge et tombé soubz iceluy, après avoir esté prins prisonnier et baillé sa foy aux S^rs^ d'Argence et S^t^-Jehan, ayt esté, de propos délibéré, cruellement et inhumainement occis par le S^r^ de Montesquiou, capitaine des gardes de Suisse de Monsieur, frère du Roy, accompaigné de quelques hommes, estant bien certain que les ennemys ont perdu plus de deux cens hommes, et qu'il ne se trouve poinct que nous ayons faict perte de cinquante ou soixante seullement, dont y en a XXXV ou XL de prisonniers. Et le lendemain dudict rencontre, la garnison dudit Cognac feit une sortie sur lesdicts ennemys, où il fut tué sur la place plus de deux cens hommes, et entre iceulx 14 de leurs meilleurs capitaines, et où peu s'en fallut que les S^rs^ de Guyse, Brissac et Martigues n'y demeurassent, qui furent contrainctz, pour se sauver, de se gecter d'un précipice assés hault, faisans la retraicte à plus de deux ou trois grandes lieues de ladicte ville, sans que depuis ilz ayent peu rien entreprendre sur nous ny sur aucune de toutes les places que nous tenons, ny s'accroistre d'un poulce de terre à nostre désavantage, sinon que Mussidan, où le sieur de Monluc, après avoir faict bresche et perdu deux cens de ses meilleurs hommes, a levé le siége et s'est retiré, de façon que, tant s'en fault que les forces que nous attendons d'heure à autre, tant en Gascongne qu'en autres endroictz, soient refroidies ou découragées par la mort intervenue de feu M. le Prince, que au contre ceulx qui avoient tousiours différé de laisser leur païs pour nous venir joindre se sont acheminez, incontinent qu'ilz ont entendu ce qui est advenu, pource qu'ilz ont considéré qu'il ne reste plus de moyen de se conserver et garantir des meschantes intencions de nos ennemys que par les forces et les armes, par le moyen desquelles nous espérons, moiennant la grâce de Dieu, faire tomber bientost sur leurs testes les mesmes dangers et calamitez dont ilz nous menacent. Et pourtant ceulx qui estiment avoir quelque intérest au gain ou perte de ceste cause, doibvent plus que jamais s'évertuer et emploier en ce qu'ilz pourront, selon les moyens que Dieu leur a donnez, et ceulx qui par les armes peuvent faire service s'assembler, en trouppes pour nous joindre, ou estre de

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nos forces quand l'occasion s'offrira ; et ceulx qui par les armes ne peuvent faire service, qu'ilz fassent entre eulx collectes de deniers, pour soudoyer le grand nombre d'estrangers qui nous vient secourir, dont ilz feront le plus grand fonds qu'il sera possible, et nous manderont au plus tost qu'ilz pourront les sommes dont nous pourrons faire estat, et si nous n'y envoions si bonne et seure escorte, qu'il ne fauldra avoir crainte qu'ilz soient perduz, à quoy on les prie de veiller et vacquer soigneusement, comme à la chose qui nous semble estre la plus nécessaire, et par deffault de laquelle il peult advenir de grans inconvénients ; que si chascun veult estre retenu, comme on a par trop esté cy-devant, qu'ilz s'asseurent que Dieu les en chastira et qu'ilz en recevront le loyer et la récompense qu'ilz méritent ; car aussi bien, quand ilz ne feroient jamais aucune démonstration de tenir nostre party, que l'opinion seullement que nos ennemys ont qu'ilz nous favorisent, ilz se peuvent asseurer par leurs effectz mesmes des ennemys que leur salut ou ruyne sera manifestement conjoincte à la nostre ; de quoy rendront tesmoignage les lettres interceptées que Cigogne, gouverneur de Dieppe, a naguères escriptes à ung ambassadeur pour le Roy, où il les remarque au doigt et à l'œil, les chargeant de la surprinse de Dieppe, du Havre, encores que on sache bien qu'il n'en soit rien. Et encores mesme, depuis peu de temps, il y a de noz prisonniers au camp de nos ennemys, qui ont esté fort instamment intérogez s'ils ne sçavoient que ceulx de par delà eussent intelligence avec nous ; je laisse à juger à quoy tendoit cela. Cependant nous ne doubtons poínt de leur bonne volonté, et nous asseurons bien qu'ilz desirent notre conservation ; mais ceste bonne volonté ne nous a poinct garantiz, ni ceste couronne, des entreprises de noz ennemys, et n'attendons point qu'elle nous garantisse encores si les effectz ne s'en suivent; à quoy on s'esbahy fort qu'ilz aient esté si lents, si froids, si tardifs, veu que on sçait bien qu'ilz sont de trop bon jugement pour n'avoir préveu de long ce que debvoit advenir à eulx et à nous. Que s'ilz n'ont poinct voulu jusques à maintenant, et qu'ilz ne veullent encores avoir soin de leur conservation, que à tout le moins il se souvient que ça esté à leur veue et devant leurs yeux que on a ruyné ce royaume, sans qu'ilz y aient apporté les remèdes et les moyens que Dieu leur avoit donnez ; et quant à nous, nous y mourrons, comme nous en sommes résoluz et délibérez, ou de vaincre. Nous avons rendu nostre vie, noz honneurs et noz biens à Dieu premièrement, à nostre patrie et à nostre roy, auxquelz nous les debvons, et laisserons par nostre mort tesmoignage à toute la postérité de nostre fidélité envers Dieu et envers nostre prince. Quant au faict porté par ung petit mémoire

dont le Dharme avoit esté porteur peu auparavant les troubles, il est impossible que cela se puisse effectuer par personnes que on envoye d'icy, qui n'auroient jamais moyen d'aller jusques aux lieux pour estre par trop congneus et remarquez, et ne se peult faire cela que pour ceulx qui sont tous portez sur les lieux. Ceste lettre satisfait aux deux mémoires envoyez, et partant sera commune à tous voz voisins de par delà.

Depuis ceste lettre escripte, nous avons sceu au vray, par le sieur de Buisson, qui nous a esté envoyé par le duc de Deux-Ponts, que noz reistres avoient jà passés dès le 30 du précédent, et qu'ilz se debvoient rendre dès jeudy, pour le plus tard, au bord de la rivière de Loire, où ilz ont délibéré tout à coup d'assiéger la Charité pour avoir le passage plus libre. Ledict S^r^ duc a 10,000 reistres et 8,000 lacsquenetz, oultre 2,500 chevaulx, ou 5 ou 6,000 harquebouziers françois et 20 pièces de baterie, 50 milliers de poudre, des boulletz et aultres munitions à l'équipollent. M. le prince d'Orange et son frère, le duc Ludovic de Nassau, se sont joinctz avec ledit S^r^ duc, ayant de belles forces, et en attendant encores de plus grandes. Il y a en Allemagne 5 ou 6,000 chevaulx prests pour marcher à vous, pourveu que on ayt moyen leur fournir quelques sommes de deniers, lesquelz n'ont voulu accepter le party advantageux que noz ennemys leur ont présenté. Les S^rs^ d'Avertigny, du Brueil et autres S^rs^ de la Religion avoient rassemblé à Veselay 1,000 ou 1,200 chevaux et 6 ou 700 hommes de pied, qui se sont joinctz avec ledit S^r^ duc.

Faict à Xaintes, ce 18 d'avril 1569. Ainsi signé.

HENRY.

ANDELOT.

HENRY DE BOURBON.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULT.

CHASTILLON.

(*State Paper Office.* French Papers.)

The Princes de Navarre and de Condé to Henry Champernowne.[1]

Saint-Maixant, 28 septembre 1569.

Monsieur de Champernon, nous avons esté merveilleusement aises de vostre arrivée avec une si bonne trope de gentilz hommes et gens de guerre angloys, venus de franche et libéralle volunté pour nous

[1] Son-in-law of Montgomery. D'Aubigné mentions the reinforcements which this gentleman brought from England in 1569 and 1570.

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secourir à une si saincte et légitime cause que nous avons en main, dont vous et eulx devez en premier lieu espérer de nostre Dieu, d'aultant que c'est pour son service, une bonne récompense ; et après, vous asseurer que nous ne demeurerons point ingratz de tous vos bons offices, comme les effectz de nostre bonne volunté le vous feront tousiours paroistre. Cependant nous vous dirons qu'il semble que Dieu vous a conduitz pour vous rendre à propoz à ung jour de bataille, à laquelle selon que nous venons d'en recevoir l'advertissement de M. l'admiral, noz ennemys sont résoluz, et nous nous préparons pour les y recevoir. Comme jusques icy, grâces à Dieu, il n'a jamais tenu à nous d'en venir à ce poinct. A ceste cause, nous vous avons bien voulu tenir adverty et vous prier que, si vous et la compaignie estes rafraischis du travail de vostre voyage, vous veuillés vous achemyner promptement vers nostre armée, laquelle nous allons demain joindre pour y attendre ce qu'il plaira à Dieu nous donner, et nous confiant de vous veoir bientost, nous ne vous en dirons poinct, pour ceste heure, davantaige, si n'est que vous et toutte la trouppe soyez le mieulx que bien-venuz, et supplions Dieu vous tenir et eulx pareillement en sa très-saincte grâce.

De S^{t}-Mexant, le XXVIII^{e} jour de septembre 1569.

Vos bien bons amys,

HENRY.

HENRY DE BOURBON.

(*State Paper Office.* French Papers.)

The Princes de Navarre and de Condé to Cecil.

Saintes, 16 octobre 1569.

Monsieur Cecill, nous envoyons à Monsieur le cardinal, nostre cousin et oncle, le discours de la bataille dernièrement donnée, et l'avons prié vous en faire part comme celluy que nous sçavons estre si zélé en la cause que nous soustenons, que vous serez grandement en suspens jusques à ce que vous en sçaurez la vérité, et parce que vous ne desirerez pas moins sçavoir l'état auquel depuis la bataille nous sommes, nous l'avons pareillement représenté par ledict discours, et depuis parce qu'en avons escript à nostre cousin et oncle. Et sçaichant que le tout vous sera par luy faict entendre, nous en remettons à ce qu'il vous en dira. Et parce que nous avons entendu par le sieur de Cavaignes les bons offices que vous faictes pour nous en affaires qui nous concernent, et la peine que vous y prenez tous les jours, combien que la seulle rétribution qui vous attend du ciel, comme à tous ceux qui s'employent vertueusement en l'œuvre du

Seigneur à la deffense et amplification de son règne, soit le but principal de voz actions en cest endroict, nous ne laissons de vous en estre bien fort obligez à recognoistre, par tous les moyens que Dieu nous donnera, les biens que nous ressantons de vostre part, lesquelz nous sommes constrainctz à ceste heure plus que jamais vous prier vouloir continuer et accroistre, puisqu'il plaict à Dieu que le danger et besoing soit accreu et multiplié sur nous, et par conséquent d'autant aproche de tous ceux qui font profession d'estre dellivrez du joug de l'Antechrist. Nous vous ferions plus ample remonstrance si nous n'estions assurez que vostre bon zelle n'a besoing d'excitation, et que vous considérerez avec la prudence que Dieu vous à donné ce qui est nécessaire et expédient, tant pour le service de Dieu que pour la seureté de ceux qui font profession d'estre de son party, et singulièrement de la Majesté de la Royne, laquelle, comme tenant le premier lieu entre les princes de la Religion, et pour autre particulières occasions que vous sçavez, est la première en la hayne et envye de noz communs ennemis; et pource que de toutes ces choses vous en conférerez avec nostre dit cousin et oncle plus amplement que ne pourrions par lettre, nous ferons fin, vous asseurant que nous avons si agréable la bonne et intyme amytié qui est entre vous, que nous estimons tout ce que vous faictes en son endroict estre faict à nous-mesmes, et le recongnoistrons pour ung accroissement d'obligations envers vous. Sur ce, vous ayant sallué de nos affectionnées recommendations à vostre bonne grâce, prions le Seigneur vous donner, Monsieur Cecill, en tout honneur et santé, multiplication de ses sainctes grâces.

De Xaintes, ce XVI^e^ octobre 1569.

Voz bien bons et affectionnez amys,

HENRY.

HENRY DE BOURBON.

(*State Paper Office.* French Papers.)

V.

Letters and documents relating to Françoise d'Orléans, widow of Louis I., Prince de Condé, and to the education of the Prince's younger sons.

Françoise d'Orléans, Princesse de Condé, to Queen Elizabeth.

La Rochelle, 12 avril 1569.

Madame, aussitost que j'ay peu impétrer de la juste douleur de ma perte insuportable quelque moyen de pouvoir mètre la main à la

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plume, je l'ay voullu dédier à présenter à V. M. des souspirs et des larmes de la plus désolée jeune veufve qui vive aujourd'huy sur la terre, à laquelle, après avoir eu cest honneur d'avoir espoussé l'un des premiers princes du sang de France, qui a perdu sa vie pour la gloire de Dieu et le bien de sa patrie, il ne reste pour toute consolation que six filz et une fille jeunes sur les bras, dénuez de tous biens et moyens humains pour mesme occasion, qui me faict implorer l'ayde de V. M., Madame, et la supplier très-humblement les vouloir avecques la mère, recepvoir en vostre protection, suyvant la faveur singulière qu'il vous a pleu monstrer tousiours par vous effectz à une si juste cause, et particulièrement encores à feu Monsieur mon mary, qui a tousiours tenu vostre secours le premier et plus seur d'entre les hommes, pour l'avoir bien esprouvé à son grand besoing, dont il se sentoit à jamais obligé à vous faire très-humble service, et en ceste dévotion, Madame, je mettray peyne de nourrir ses enfans, tant que je vivray, espérant qu'un jour ilz auront cest honneur de recevoir voz commandementz pour y obéyr d'aussy bonne volonté que eulx et moy nous présentons à vous faire très-humble service.

(*State Paper Office.* French Papers.)

The Princess de Condé to Mademoiselle de Guillerville, Governess of her Children.

Blandy, 15 août 1571.

Mademoiselle de Guillerville, je ne puis vous escripre aultre chose, synon que ne me sauriez faire plus grand plaisir que continuer à souvent me mander des nouvelles de mon fils, le comte, et de ses frères, et principallement quand vous verrez sa fiebvre l'avoir laissé. A ce que m'escripvez, je voy qu'il y a amendement, mais non pas tel encore que je le desire. Il ne m'est possible de encores l'aller veoir pour estre Madame ma mère quasy en ung mesme estat qu'elle a accoustumé. M. de Denonville, lequel vient de Paris, l'est venue veoir à ce matin, et lequel, à ce que j'entends, est remys en tous ses

[1] Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Soissons, born at Nogent-le-Rotrou, November 3, 1566; Louis and Benjamin de Bourbon, who died young; these were the three sons whom Françoise d'Orléans had borne to Louis I., Prince de Condé. Perhaps to these names ought to be added those of two children by his first marriage, François de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, born August 18, 1558; and Charles de Bourbon (who took holy orders), born March 30, 1562. The charge of the two latter Princes was more especially confided to their uncle the Cardinal. But it will be seen from the following letters that all the children seem to have lived much together, and to have received their education in common under the direction of the Dowager-Princess and the Cardinal.

biens, de quoy je sçay que serez bien ayse. J'avoys envoyé vers Mme de Corbonzoy la prier qu'elle me vînt veoir icy, mais elle est si grosse qu'elle ne peult marcher. Voilà ce que je puys vous mander, sinon que j'ay envoyé mon tailleur à Paris pour achepter des chappeaux à mes enfans. La première fois que m'escriprez, mandez-moy ce qu'ils ont le plus de besoing affin que je leur face avoir. Ma couzine leur envoye ung petit présent, lequel vous leur baillerez. Je vous prie avoir l'œil sur tout ce que vous verrez estre de besoing, et empeschez que ce qui a gasté jusques à icy les confitures n'y touche plus.

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, Fontette, XXIII. 322.)

The Same to the Same

Blois, 7 octobre 1571.

Mademoiselle de Guillerville, envoyant un homme exprès vers Madame ma mère, tant pour sçavoir de ses nouvelles que aussi pour mes affaires, je vous ay escript ceste lettre pour vous pryer de ne vouloir faillir à me mander, le plus souvent que vous pourrez, des nouvelles de mes enfants, et cercher toutes les occasions que vous pourrez pour m'escripre de leur santé et bonne disposition; car c'est ce la chose que je souhaitte en ce monde le plus et que j'auray plus agréable. Et si ne trouvez messagier à Condé qui vienne de deça, vous envoyerez vos lectres à Madame ma mère pour me les faire tenir. Dictes aussy à mon fils Charles Monsieur qu'il m'escripve de ses nouvelles et de la santé de ses frères.[1]

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, Fontette, XXIII. 322.)

The Dowager-Princesse de Condé to Mademoiselle de Guillerville.

Fontainebleau, 28 avril 1573.

Mademoiselle de Guillerville, j'ay esté bien fort ayse d'avoi entendu par Pichot la bonne disposition de mes enfans. C'est l

[1] In this letter the Princess appears to speak of 'her son Charles Monsieur' and of 'her little Count' as if they were two different persons. Her son, the Comte de Soissons, was called Charles; but her husband's last child by Éléonore de Roye was also called Charles, and became Cardinal de Bourbon. It must be he who is meant by 'Charles Mo sieur,' and who is asked to 'write abo himself and his brothers.' Havi been born in 1562, he was nine yea old when his stepmother wrote th letter; the 'little Comte' de Soisso was not yet five years old, and cou not yet be a very regular correspondei

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plus grand contentement que je puis recevoir que de sçavoir souvent de leurs nouvelles, qui me fait vous prier de ne laisser passer aucune occasion sans m'en faire entendre. On m'avoit un peu auparavant raporté que Benjamin avoit mal à un œil; mais l'espérance que Pichot m'a donnée du contraire me fait croire qu'il n'en est rien, et aussi que je m'asseure que n'eussiez failly à m'en advertir, suivant ce que je vous ay souventes foys dit que je voulois estre incontinent advertie du moindre mal qui leur pourroit advenir; ce que vous prie encores que faciez et que vous serviés d'un médecin bien expérimenté qui demeure près de là, ainsi qu'on m'a dict, si d'adventure il leur survient quelque malladie: prenez bien garde qu'ils ne s'eschaufent, et qu'ils n'endurent aussi trop de froid; car de ces deux extrémités viennent les pleurésies, qui sont maintenant bien en règne. Je suis asseurée du bon debvoir que vous y faites, et pour ce je ne les vous recommanderay d'avantage. J'ay entendu qu'on a retranché la moitié des gages de leurs serviteurs, contre ce que Monsieur le cardinal mon frère m'avoit accordé.[1]

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, Fontette, XXIII. 325.)

The Same to the Same.

Blandy, 22 décembre 1573.

Mademoiselle de Guillerville, j'ay esté bien fort ayse d'avoir entendu des nouvelles si bonnes de mon fils. Je vous prie ne faillir à m'en escripre encores par ce porteur! Je me délibère, après avoir encore esté quelques jours en ce lieu, m'en aller à Paris, et de là à Gailon.[2] Vous direz à mon filz que je lui porteray de belle besongne pour se jouer. Je me suis bien estonnée d'avoir conneu par ses lettres qu'il a, en si peu de temps, si bien apprins à escrire. Je pensoys qu'il ne fist aultre chose que passer le temps à s'esbattre, mais je voy bien qu'il veut devenir bien sage.

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, Fontette, XXIII. 326.)

VI.

Henri I., Prince de Condé, to Admiral Coligny.

La Rochelle, 8 septembre 1571.

Mon oncle, j'ay esté bien aise de congnoistre par vos lettres que vous n'avés aucune chose qui vous ait pu retarder votre voiage de

[1] It is evident that the charge of the children's education was shared between the Princess and the Cardinal.

[2] Gaillon, a house belonging to the Cardinal de Bourbon.

la cour. Je prie à Dieu qu'il sçait que je le desire. Toutefois l'on m'a adverty avoir ouy dire à Monsieur le marquis . . . . qu'il estoit fasché de quoy vous y alliés, et qu'il craignoit qu'il vous en advinst du mal. Je vous supplie prendre garde à vous. Je sçay bien que vous avés beaucoup d'amis et serviteurs par delà ; pour cela, mon oncle, vous ne délaisserez à pourveoir comme vous sçaurés bien faire aux advertissemens que vous en recevrés ; car il ne se peult nullement doubter que vous ayés encores là un grand nombre d'ennemys. Quant à moy, je ne fauldray de vous advertir tousjours, sitost que j'entendray que lon en veult tant à vous que à d'aultres, et mesmes, quand il sera question de la cause générale, de vous rendre certain de tout. L'on m'a asseuré aujourdhui que le duc de Medina Celi, qui pars d'Espaigne pour aller en Flandres, a charge de faire quelque entreprise sur ceste ville en passant, et, s'il y fault, le duc d'Albe en s'en retournant y donnera essay avec congé du Roy, se dict-on. J'en ai adverty Messieurs de ceste ville y prendre garde, et de faire commandement aux hostelliers et taverniers de porter tous les soirs au maire les noms de leurs hostes, et pour sçavoir ce qu'ils viennent faire ici. Asseurés-vous qu'il ne tiendra point à moy que l'on ny face bon ordre, aussy qu'ils le m'ont promis, jusques à regarder aux vendengeurs, comme il est besoing. L'on dict que Landreau est allé au devant du duc de Medina Celi pour le guider, et s'est allé embarqué vers Saint-Jean-de-Luz. Toutefois l'on me dict qu'il estoit passé, et que l'on avoit veu quarante navires d'une flotte qui alloit en Flandres.

Au demeurant, j'entretiens ma bonne tante paisiblement, ma cousine et mes petis cousins, et n'est guères de soirs que nous ne facions une belle vye à vostre gré, en nous esbatant tous ensemble joieusement, pour tascher à passer nos mélancoliques heures. Je vous prye que, tout ainsi que je vous escris de mes nouvelles, comme je vous promets que je vous feray à toutes les occasions, escrivez-moi aussy des vostres, car asseurez-vous que je prens à gran plaisir en entendre. Cependant je me recommanderay bien à vostre bonne grâce, et supplieray le Créateur, mon oncle, qu'il vous ait toujours en sa saincte garde.

Escrit à la Rochelle, le 8me de septembre 1571.

Vostre bien humble et obéyssant nepveu,

HENRY DE BOURBON.

Je ne fauldray de satisfaire à vostre lestre, et partiray d'icy pour aller à la terre ung jour de la semaine prochaine.

(*Library of Berne*, Collection Bongars, t. CXLI. p. 5.)

VII.

The Prince de Condé to the Count Palatine.

Sougères,[1] 9 avril 1576.

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Monsieur mon cousin, j'ay eu avertissement aujourdhuy que les Suisses du Roy et ses reistres, qui sont environ mille chevaux, ont repassé la rivière d'Yonne, yl y a seullement deux iours, et qu'ilz n'ont encor nul effroi de nostre armée, et pancent ceux qui congnoissent le pays que il n'y a d'icy à eux plus de seize ou dix-sept lieues. Voyant cella, il m'a semblé qu'une plus belle occasion ne se pourroyt présenter pour bien employer la bonne vollonté de tant de gens de bien qu'il y a en ces trouppes, ayant envoyé pour cest effect vers vous le sieur de Coubrelles vous faire entendre le desir que j'ay de tenter une telle entreprise, et vous prier affectueusement de gaingner tant sur quelques-uns de vos colonelz, quilz me vueillent accompagner, et suffiroyt des cornettes de Therze et de Stein, qui sont les plus prochaines d'ici, m'assurant, Monsieur mon cousin, que nous ferons quelque chose de bon. Et, cella avenant, pencez quel avancement cella apporteroyt à une bonne paix. Les belles entreprises se font de loin, lorsque l'ennemy, pençant estre en assurance, demeure négligent; aussy bien est-il nécessaire d'avancer quelque bonne trouppe pour le tenir en crainte, jusques à ce que nostre armée soyt toutte unye et que ung bon ordre soyt estably parmi no^{s}, car, si en ce désordre, et estant logez l'escartez co^{e} no^{s} sommes, de leurs gens s'avançoyent, ils nous leveroyent des logis au préjudice de nostre réputacion.

En marge: Si vous trouvez bon que l'entreprise s'exécute, il en faudroyt avertir les colonelz, affin qu'ils commençassent demain à marcher.

Au bas: Je vous supplie de m'envoyer cent livres de poudre.

(Original. *Archives de Condé.*')

VIII.

The Prince de Condé to the Earl of Sussex[2] *(?).*

La Rochelle, 12 juin 1577.

Monsieur mon cousin, les grandes obligations que je vous ay de tant de plaisirs et faveurs que m'avez tousiours faictz de tout ce

[1] In the Département de l'Yonne.

[2] Radcliff, Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain at the Court of Elizabeth.—Tr.

qui a deppendu de vostre crédit envers la Majesté de la Reyne et tous les autres seigneurs du conseil, de l'assurance que j'ay telle de la continuation de vostre bonne amityé envers les églises de France, le roy de Navarre et moy, par les rapportz de tous ceulx qui s'adressent à vous, me font encores concepvoir une plus grande espérance que jamais que vous nous serez encores à ce coup si bon et parfaict amy, que vous nous ferez le bien de n'espargné toutes voz faveurs à ce que nous puissions obtenir de Sa Majesté le service qui nous est très-nécessaire pour nous relever de la ruyne en laquelle noz ennemys nous veulent précipiter, nous amusant d'ung costé de faindre négociations de paix, et d'aultre part assiégeant nos places, et nous approchans tousiours le plus qu'ilz peuvent, sans que nous puissions espérer aucune bonne paix d'eulx, nous voulans tous les jours retrancher quelque chose de l'édict à mesure qu'il leur arrive, quelque prospérité contre nous, qu'a faict résoudre ledict S^r^ roy de Navarre et moy de nous nous y plus fié, et de nous attendre d'avoir aucune bonne et seure paix qu'avecq de bonnes forces estrangières, pour lesquelles mectre sus nous estans icy mis en tous le debvoir à nous possible de faire quelque somme de deniers, nous avons tant espéré de la piété et vertu de la Majesté de la Royne et de vostre crédit et faveur en son endroict, que vous n'espargnerez rien qui soit en vostre puissance pour la persuader de nous secourir encore ceste foys, vous assurant que nous récompenserons tellement le peu de debvoir que nous avons faict par le passé de nous aquicter des grandes obligations que nous avons à sa dicte Majesté, qu'elle aura toute occasion de nous conserver l'amitié dont il lui a plu nous faire tant de démonstracion, et d'oublié tous les mescontentemens qu'elle peut avoir receu par faulte de l'en avoir satisfaicte comme il appartien, chose qui est du tout provenue du peu de compte que font noz ennemys de tenir leur foy et parolles, non-seulement à nous, mais aussy à tous les princes estrangiers, ainsy que plus amplement les S^rs^ d'Hargenlieu et de la Pehonne le vous feront entendre de ma part, avecq le S^r^ du Plessis de la part du roy de Navarre, dont je vous supplie bien affectueusement les vouloir croyre comme moy-mesme, et sur l'asseurance que j'ay si grande en vostre amitié que vous nous ferez en leur négociation tous les plaisirs que vous pourrez, je vous asseureray aussy en récompense qu'il n'y a prince en la chrestienté dont vous puissiez faire plus d'estat que dudit S^r^ roy de Navarre et moy, pour n'espargné jamais rien qui soit en nostre puissance par tout où nous vous pouvrons obéyr.

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(*British Museum*, Cotton, Titus, B. VII. 320.)

IX.

The Prince de Condé to the Queen-Mother.

Saint-Jean-d'Angely, 13 novembre 1579.

Madame,

APP. IX. Je ne sauroys assez humblement remercyer Vostre Maiesté de l'honneur qu'il luy playst me fère, de m'avoyr envoyé visiter par Monsr Dalbene, et de lasseurance que par luy me donnez de la continuation de vostre bonne volunté et affection envers moy, quy me sera à iamais une très-estroite obligation, aveq une infinité d'autres précédentes, de vous rendre le très-humble et très-fidèle service qu'à vous doy, et touchant, Madame, le commandement que Vostre Maiesté me fait de tenyr la main à la restitution des villes accordées par la conférence de Nérac, d'autant que cela a esté traicté par le roy de Navarre et en son gouvernement, aussy que par le gentilhomme qu'il ha naguères envoyé vers Voz Maiestez, il leur a faict entendre les occasions pour lesquelles il n'a peu encores accomplyr ce que desirez sur ce de luy, je ne vous en feray autre discours; toutesfoys si, en cela et toutes autres choses qui concerneront le service de vozdictes Maiestez, il vous plaist m'honorer de vos commandemens, je monteray aussytost à cheval pour les exécuter promptement; et pour le regard du maryage dont m'escrivez, à la vérité je reconnoys que ce m'est un très grand honneur, voyre tel que je n'eusse ausé l'espérer, mays, en ayant demandé l'advys des ministres naguères assemblez au synode tenu à Figeac, ilz m'ont faict responce que, pour la diversité de religion, ie n'y pouvoys entendre, si Madamoyzelle de Vaudemont n'en faisoyt pareille professyon que moy. Aussy, Madame, quand ceste consydération cesseroyt, ce me seroyt un honneur à demy, s'il ne playsoit à Voz Majestez me remetre en mon gouvernement, duquel ie ne iouys point, encores que ie l'aye eu par le moyen du Roy. Pour le regard des biens, je m'en remetray tousiours à ce que Vos Maiestez en advyseront et ce que Messieurs mes parens m'en conseilleront. Vous supplyant très-humblement, Madame, prendre le tout en bonne part, et me fayre cest honneur de croyre que n'aurez jamais un plus fidèle serviteur que moy, quy en cest endroict supplye le Créateur contynuer à Vostre Maiesté, Madame, en très-parfaicte santé, très-longue et très-heureuse vye.

A St-Jehan, ce 13 novembre.

Vostre très-humble et très-obéissent serviteur,

HENRY DE BOURBON.

(Original autograph. *Archives de Condé.*)

X.

The Prince de Condé to Lord Burghley.

La Fère, 12 avril 1580.

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Monsieur de Burghley, les obligations que les pauvres églises de ce royaulme vous ont en général, et moy particulièrement, sont si grandes, pour tant de faveurs desquelle vous avés cy-devant assisté le bien de nostre cause, toutes et quantes fois qu'en avés esté requis et vos moiens l'ont peu permectre, qu'après vous en avoir desià faict un, voire plusieurs affectionés remercymens, nous sommes contraincts toutefois d'en confesser encor la debte non moindre; mais puisqu'il n'y a eu aulcun deffault de desir et de bonne volonté à vous en revencher, je veulx encore vous promectre la vie toute semblable au besoing qui s'offre maintenant de la recherche et semondre pour le secours de nos affaires; sur la disposition desquels je despesche présentement le sieur Bouchart, mon conseillier, vers la Royne, vostre souveraine dame, avecque une très-humble supplicacion de son assistance, l'ayant aussi bien expressément chargé vous veoir de ma part, et oultre de tesmoigner de ma parfaicte amytié en vostre endroict, vous asseurer bien particulièrement de toutes les occurences de deçà et des causes de son voïage, dont je me remects dessus luy, après luy en avoir donné à congnoistre. Je vous prie d'avoir en telle et si spéciale recommendacion ce dont il vous requerra en mon nom, et pour obtenir, par vostre moyen, non-seullement une favorable audience de Sa Majesté, mais aussi son expédition en telle que nosdictes affaires en reçoyvent le fruict qui leur est nécessaire; et si vous cognoissez que, pour le contentement de vous ou des vostres, je puisse vous faire plaisir, le sachant, je m'y disposeray d'une vollonté si franche, qu'elle servira toujours d'augmentation à la vostre, dont la certitude me gardera vous faire une plus longue lettre.

(*British Muscum*, Cotton, Galba, E. VI. 12b.)

XI.

The Prince de Condé 'A Messieurs les Syndiques et Conseil de la Ville de Genève.'

Saint-Jean-d'Angely, 25 mars 1584.

Messieurs, la mesme religion de laquelle nous faisons profession nous enseigne assez la conjonction qui doibt estre entre nous

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Mais, puisque nos ennemis nous l'apprennent davantage par leurs desseings, qu'ils bastissent tous les jours pour nous ruiner tous à la fois, cela nous doibt occasionner d'estreindre plus fort le lien d'amitié et union, comme le plus asseuré moyen, selon les hommes, de nostre conservation ; ce que je dys, Messieurs, afin de vous tesmoigner par la présente le semblable que par mes précédentes, et vous prier croire que j'ai merveilleusement à cœur vostre bien, repos, accroissement et contentement, tenant pour certain que, si Dieu vous continue, comme je l'en prie ardemment, une tranquillité, il vous fera aussi la grâce de l'employer à l'advancement de sa gloire, pour triompher au milieu de vos ennemis. Si, pour y parvenir, vous estimez que mes moyens y puissent apporter de la facilité, je les vous offre volontairement avec ma personne, de laquelle je vous serviray de toute l'affection que vous pouvez attendre et vous promettre d'un prince desireux de vous voir sortis des perplexités qui vous travaillent de longtemps, à quoy il semble, par vos dernières lettres, que Dieu vous présente une ouverture qui ne sera jamais si seure ny si prompte que je la vous souhaitte, Messieurs, priant Dieu que, malgré vos adversaires, il conserve et accroisse vostre estat, vous faisant prospérer de plus à plus à son honneur, vostre soulagement et utilité de nos églises, qui y ont un intérest.

(*Archives de Genève.*)

XII.

The King of Navarre to Beza, on the Death of the Prince de Condé.

Mars 1588.

Monsr de Besze, il vous faut que je vous dye que de lontans je n'ay esté tellement contrysté et affligé en mon âme que je suys de la perte publyque et particulyère que j'ay fète de feu mon cousin Monsr le Prynce. Mais surtout j'ay un extrême déplésyr de la fason de sa mort, laquelle j'ay de tant plus en horreur et exécratyon quelle est domestyque et sans semblable exemple en toutes ses cyrconstances. Je n'oublye rién pour avérer ce fayt. Mais un page de Madame la Princesse, nommé Belcastel, en est pryncipal ynstrument, lequel s'est sauvé dans Poytiers, et pour le recouvrer j'ay dépesché vers le Roy, espérant qu'il n'approuvera telles voyes abomynables, et qu'il le fera amener en ce lieu de Saynt-Jan, pour pouvoyr myeux avérer le fet et ynstruyre le procès que je leur fays fère. Au mesme temps il y avoit vynt-quattre hommes dépeschés

en ces cartyers pour espyer l'occasyon de me tuer. Il y en a un quy se déguysoyt en jantylhomme fryson, à quy le cueur fayllyt ainsy qu'il me présentoit une requeste à Nérac, et, le jour mesme ayant esté prys, il a tout confessé, ainsy que vous verrez par la copye de la déposytyon, que j'envoye à M. de la Noue. Il faut bien dire que nous sommes en un mysérable tans et que Dieu est byen courroucé contre nous, puysque ce syècle produyt de tels monstres, lesquels, faysans mestyer d'assassynas et empoysonnemens, et en estans auteurs, veulent estre estimés jans d'honneur et de vertu. Je say qu'yls ne peuvent ryen fère contre moy, sy ce n'est avec la volonté et par la permyssion de Dieu, lequel, malgré tous les efors de Satan et de l'Antechryst, délyvrera son Églyse, quoy qu'yl tarde; s'yl ne se veult servyr de moy en cela, il a assés d'autres moyens, mays, cependant qu'il me donnera la vye, je l'employray et tous mes moyens pour son servyce. Je me recommande à vos bonnes pryères, comme aussy je vous prye d'avanser nos afères. Sy nous sommes un peu aydés, nous vous assurons de fère quelques bons efets et veyles, non-seulement à ce royaume, mays à toute la crestyenté. Je prye Dyeu vous vouloyr conserver pour le bien de son Églyse. A Dyeu, Mons^{r} de Besze: c'est

Vostre plus afectyonné amy à jamais,

HENRY.

A Mons. de Besze.

(Original autograph. *Library of Gotha*, MSS. vol. 405, p. 502. Unpublished.)

Théodore de Bèze to the King of Navarre on the same occasion.

Mars (?) 1588.

Sire,

A grand pène à vray dire se pourroyt jamais inventer acte plus exécrable que celuy qui a esté exécuté si abominablement contre feu Monseigneur le prince de Condé, puisqu'il a ainsi pleu à Dieu, et l'autre si malheureux entrepris contre Vostre Maiesté, et destourné par la singulière bonté de celuy contre lequel rien ne vault, ny cautelle, ny violence. Mais il n'y a rien si meschant de soy dont les vrais enfans de Dieu ne puissent et ne doibvent faire leur profit. Nous avons donc premièrement à apprendre par ces choses si estranges que vrayment Dieu est grandement courroucé contre nous, puisqu'il a lasché si avant la bride à l'esprit homicide, et par conséquent qu'il est plus besoin que jamais de penser à une bonne

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et vraye conversion, de peur que, ny pensant de plus près, é luy continuant de frapper, la maladie ne se rende du tout irrémédiable. En second lieu, ce qu'il a pleu à Dieu, qui pouvoit priver son Église de touts les deux, nous en laisser un et mesme le principal, nous donne très-iuste occasion d'espérer de plus en plus en sa très-grande miséricorde, nous montrant que, la meschanceté de ses ennemys estant venue au comble, son jugement n'est pas loing de leur teste. Mais, oultre tout cela, Sire, ceci vous doibt bien advertir, avec tant d'autres expériences que Dieu vous a faict voir en peu d'années en tant de personnes de toutes qualités et en tant de sortes, que vous soyez tant plus songneux de vous conserver à la pauvre France, à l'Église du Seigneur é à vous-mesme, comme nous en prions et en prierons le Seigneur assiduellement. A cela ie suis contrainct d'adiouster, cognoissant à quoy vous pourroyt amener quelque sinistre conseil é vostre clémence é bonté naturelle, que, vos ennemis ayant bien osé, par une impudence é meschanceté du tout désespérée, semer le bruit que cest acte si détestable estoit procédé de vous, vous ne pouvez ni debvez nullement fleschir en ce faict, sans faire une bresche irréparable à vostre réputation, mais au contraire en poursuyvre le iugement et l'exécution, qui ferme la bouche à ces détestables calomniateurs devant Dieu et devant les hommes. Au reste, me remettant à vous déclarer en quelle disposition se trouvent vos bons alliés et amis sur celuy que vous y avés employé dernièrement pour s'en enquérir, et qui n'a faulte ne de fidélité ne de diligence, ne de bon iugement pour savoir ce qui en est, é vous en bien esclaircir, ie vous diray seulement un mot, Sire, duquel je respondray tousiours devant Dieu quant à ma conscience, et devant les hommes quant aux raisons sur lesquelles ie me fonde, et en quoy ie supplie très-humblement Vostre Maiesté me vouloir croire, quoy qu'on vous ait ou escrit ou dit, ou qu'on vous dye cy-après, sinon que l'estat du monde change du tout: qui est en somme qu'autant que vous debvez craindre et vous garder à estre réduict à l'extrémité, laquelle vos ennemis vous pourchassent, qui est de vous voir destitué de touts amis par le dehors é en mauvais mesnage par dedans, vous entreteniez par tous moyens avec Monseigneur le duc Casimir toute bonne é sincère intelligence, et que par mesme moyen l'union mutuelle se continue inviolablement entre les églises françoises et estrangères de nostre confession. Sans lequel lien ainsi réciprocque, je supplie très-humblement Vostre Maiesté d'estre persuadée qu'il est comme impossible que vous tiriez aide quelconque des estrangers, ni mesme que vous conserviez vostre réputation en son entier, comme au contraire, entretenant ce

lien, é pour cest effect employant des serviteurs lesquels, avec la fidélité et diligence telles qu'il vous faut vrayment recognoistre en ceux que vous y avez employez, ayant une humeur qui se puisse un peu mieux, mais toutesfois en bonne prudence, accommoder au naturel de la nation, pour en tirer dextrement ce qu'on en desire, vous en devez espérer trop meilleurs effects que par cy-devant, pourveu qu'on s'aide de son costé, ainsi que la nécessité le requiert, et ainsi que j'estime que Vostre Maiesté aura entendu d'ailleurs plus à plein. Vous serez aussi adverty, s'il vous plaist, qu'il y a desjà quelque temps qu'un bruict sourd a couru d'un abouchement se debvant faire en personne é en Poictou de Sa Maiesté avec vous, ce qui se reconferme maintenant depuis ces derniers mouvements survenus à Paris, le tout forgé, comme présupposent vos serviteurs, par vos ennemys désespérés, é ce à deux fins, à sçavoir d'un costé pour vous rendre odieux é mettre en soupçon, non-seulement envers les églises, mais aussi envers vos amis estrangers, auquels, du temps mesmes que les ambassadeurs estoyent à Paris, un certain malheureux aposté vouloit faire accroire que vous aviez intelligence secrette avec Sa Maiesté pour la ruine des églises, et d'aultre costé, tout au contraire, pour faire de plus en plus accroire aux catholiques que Sa Maiesté s'entend avec les hérétiques, ou que, si ce n'est le Roy, pour le moins ce sont ses conseillers qui le possèdent, auxquels pour cette occasion ils disent et escrivent que le zèle de leur religion et de la conservation de l'Estat, é non aulcune ambition ou mauvaise intention, les contraint de s'opposer. Je laisse à part ceux qui imaginent et se persuadent que tout ce qui s'est passé jusques ici entre le Roy et la Ligue, et mesme ce remuement de Paris, n'estoit qu'une feinte pour vous attraper; ce qui me semble, de ma part, n'estre ni vray ni vraysemblable. Quoi qu'il en soit, Sire, vous voyez quels filets vous sont tendus de toutes parts. Ayez au contraire l'œil ouvert de touts costés, et cognoissant par tant d'expériences à quelles gens vous avez à faire, tenez pour suspectes les promesses les plus avantageuses, é ne souffrez que ny vostre bonté, ny le desir d'une bonne paix (laquelle Dieu nous doint sur toutes choses!), servent de piége pour vous enlacer, tenant tousiours, quoy qu'il en soit, vostre personne en bonne seurté, et notamment, cas advenant que vous soyez solicité de conférer en personne, prenez bien garde à la façon, é mieux que ne fit le feu connétable de Sainct-Paul, ainsi que Philippe de Commine le récite. Bref, Sire, retenant tousiours le très-iuste fondement de la défense en laquelle vous avez esté contrainct et forcé de vous mettre, é demeurant ès vrayes, sainctes et très-pertinentes responses par

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vous faictes é tant de fois réiterées sur le poinct de la Religion, opposez à la violence et puissance de touts vos ennemis la force du Tout-Puissant, et à leurs cautèles la grande providence de nostre Dieu, que vous avez tant de fois expérimentée ; aux difficultés et comme impossibilités que vous prévoyez, et auxquelles peut-estre vous vous verrez réduict, l'assistance de celui qui peut et veut tout pour les siens, faict les grandez choses par les petites, et ne faict en rien mieux apparoir sa force qu'en la débilité des siens, quand Dieu leur faict la grâce d'attendre leur secours d'en haut, comme vous l'avez visiblement essayé il n'y a pas longtemps. Et surtout, pour ce que ceste tempête a desjà longtemps duré, et ne se void encore apparence de la fin, il est requis, Sire, que vous considériés en vous-mesmes que, si Dieu a réglé le cours des iours, des mois é des ans, à plus forte raison il a borné l'espreuve des siens, qui luy sont trop plus prétieux que le ciel ny la terre, et dont luy-mesmes tient en sa main la iuste mesure. Adioustez à cela, Sire, que c'est au bout de la carrière, é non au commencement ny au milieu, que se trouve le prix de la iouste é ceste couronne incorruptible que Dieu vous a préparée spécialement, comme il lui a pleu vous choisir pour estre son bras é sa main en ce monde pour ceste heure, à l'advancement de sa gloire et conservation de ses pauvres affligés, lequel ie supplie de tout mon cœur, Sire, vous en faire la grâce, é, vous accompagnant en tout et partout de son S^{t}-Esprit, conserver la Maiesté en laquelle il luy a pleu vous eslever en toute saincte prospérité.

Vostre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

THÉODORE DE BESZE.

(Original. *Library of Geneva*, Letters of Théodore de Bèze, vol. CXVII.)

XIII.

Letters written by the Princesse de Condé during her captivity at Saint-Jean-d'Angely.

I. *To her Mother, Jeanne de Montmorency.*

Mai 1592.

J'avois toujours pasianté jusques à cest heure, an l'atante de quelque nouvelle de la court, ou des vostre, et m'atandois au retour

de quelq'un de mes laquais ; mais, tous ces moiens me manquant, j'ai pancé estre à propos vous dépaicher se porteur, pour vous suplyer très-humblement faire tenir à mon frère un petit paquet que je vous anvoye. C'est chose importante, et par où il poura descouvrir les desains du duc et du conte, qui est à cest heure en Gascoigne. Il est nésaisaire qu'il saiche prontemant se que je luy mande sur ce sujet. Il me semble que mondit frère est fort pareseux, et ceulx qui ont la solisitation de mes affaire an main, de n'avoir dépaiché aucun de mesdits laquais pour nous esclersir du partement dudit conte, sy c'est avec la bonne grasse de son mestre ou autrement ; car cella brouille les esprits de plusieurs. Aussy que ceulx quy sont très-bien disposez an ce lieu ont besoin d'estre maintenus et souvant visittez par lettre de mon frère, et qu'il leur aparoise quelque bons offise de lui. Ce n'est le tout de panser avoir laisé les affaire an bon estat ysy ; mais il faut ce painer à les antretenir, et le plus expédiant moien seroit ung avansemant an mes affaire ; s'il n'y ont donné ung bon coup, estant tous ansamble, je ne say quelle espéranse il y aura dorénavant. J'avois pensé que nous aurions l'honneur de vous voir. Je ne me puis immaginer à quoy il tient, puisque les faicte sont pacées. Je crains infinimant me randre importune de sy continuelle suplication pour cest effect ; mais quant vous considérez combien vostre venue est de conséquanse, vous ne me blâmerez. Je vous suplye donc tres-humblement ne me voulloir remestre an plus de longueur. Toute chosse sont au très-bon train an ce lieu. Les petis se porte bien, Dieu mersy. Je desiroys extrêmemant que vous aportysiez vous-mesme vos nouvelle. Je vous bayse très-humblemant les mains.

Il sera très-bon qu'usyez de diliganse pour anvoyer le petit paquet à mon frère, s'yl vous plait.

(Original autograph. *Château de Serrent.* Communicated by M. Marchegay.)

II. *To the Duc de Bouillon.*

Undated.

Ce qui m'apporte tant de contentement au milieu de mes misères, c'est de ne pouvoir estre accusée justement d'impatience ni de précipitation en mes affaires ; mais, tout ainsi que je mérite quelque espèce de louange en cela, je serois digne d'un blâme extrême si ces continuelles souffrances rendoyent mon esprit tellement assoupy qu'il s'y remarquât de la négligence et du peu de soin de ce que j'y devois tenir plus cher que ma vie. Votre

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absence, mon cousin, m'avoit retenue dans les limites d'un silence, lequel j'estimois m'estre plus utile en ce temps que la poursuite de ce qui me concerne. Or, je ne vous discourray point sur ce qui s'est passé depuis votre partement : je croy que vous avez été très-bien informé que les choses sont en pareil état que vous les laissâtes, et qu'il n'a rien esté exécuté des promesses qui vous furent faites. Les longueurs sont si préjudiciables que je m'assure que votre bon jugement en connoît les conséquences : la principale est l'avancement de l'âge de mon fils, sans voir aucune reconnaissance que l'on face de luy, au moins si parfaite comme il seroit requis. Les affaires ne peuvent changer de face qu'elles ne lui apportent toujours plus d'ampêchement à l'établissement des siens. Tous ceux qui lui appartiennent y ont tant d'intérêt, que j'oserois dire, avec leur permission, qu'ils n'en ont pas tel ressentiment qu'ils devroyent, pour demeurer en ce profond sommeil. C'est donc vous, mon cousin, qui les en retirerez ; vous en avez le pouvoir ; je fay état de votre bonne volonté, laquelle vous ne sauriez employer en occasion qui vous apporte plus de gloire ; je vous supplie que les effets s'en produisent à votre arrivée, car je tiens pour certain que vous ne serez refusé, si l'on juge qu'ayez en affection d'y voir une fin. Il me semble que le retardement n'y servira plus que de destruction. J'envoye Befforce vers vous, afin qu'il serve à vous faire ressouvenir de ne laisser perdre nul sujet où il y ayt moyen d'apporter quelque bien aux affaires de mon fils et de moy. Le séjour qu'il fit dernièrement à la cour profita fort peu ; je souhaiterois que cette fois ne fust pas semblable, car beaucoup de gens tournent ces voyages infructueux à moquerie. Je parle librement à vous, m'assurant que ne le trouverez mauvais, estant celuy de tous ceux qui me sont proches duquel je me promets plus de soulagement. Aussi plusieurs pensent qu'il ne tiendra qu'à vous si je n'en recoys. Je say que mon frère y est obligé, mais il n'a tant de crédit ; c'est pourquoy j'en seray redevable à vous seul, et n'auray de félicité que lorsqu'il me naîtra une occasion de vous bien servir. En attendant, je nourris mon fils en dévotion de n'oublier les bons offices qu'il recevra de vous en son bas âge. Il est infiniment joly et plein d'esprit. Dieu, qui l'a conservé jusques à cette heure, le rendra, s'il luy plait, digne de servir à sa gloire, de faire au Roy le très-humble service qu'il lui doit, et de vous honorer comme, pour mon particulier, je le veux éternellement.

(*Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, MSS. de Conrart. Collection in octavo, vol. V.)

III. *To the Duc d'Épernon.*

1593.

Avec quels regrets, Monsieur mon cousin, faut-il que les malheurs me forcent de commencer cet écrit? De le vous pouvoir exprimer par des paroles, ce sont des moyens trop foibles pour représenter vivement les douleurs si extrêmes que celles que je supporte de vostre perte et de la mienne.[1] J'ay double tourment, l'un de m'imaginer les autres (*sic*), et l'autre le ressentiment trop cruel des miennes. Si une créature, ayant éprouvé tous les plus rigoureux traits de la fortune, peut estre propre à donner quelque consolation à un affligé, je penserois apporter quelque soulagement à vos peines, et n'estimerois ma condition heureuse qu'en cette occasion. Mais c'est trop faillir que de penser que vostre courage se laisse surmonter par la douleur: vous qu'avez accoutumé de commander à autruy, n'auriez-vous pas le même pouvoir sur vous-même? Pardonnez à ma passion causée de mon déplaisir, se je doute de votre constance, et vous entretiens d'un si fâcheux discours. Lorsque j'ay délibéré de dépêcher ce porteur, je ne croyois avoir un si triste sujet que celuy que le ciel a fait naître depuis; et, sans l'assurance que j'ay que vous l'aurez entendu par d'autres, j'eusse encore retardé son partement, qui estoit fondé sur le desir que j'avois de savoir de vos nouvelles, ayant seu vostre blessure, et aussi pour vous dire quelque particularité des affaires de mon fils et de moy, à l'avancement desquels vous avez tant de moyens d'ayder, que je ne doute nullement, s'il vous plaît en prendre à bon escient l'affirmation, qu'ils ne réussissent heureusement; la promesse que m'avez faite souvent d'avoir agréable de vous y employer, me fait librement requérir cette faveur. Vos enfants et les miens sont si proches que le bien que vous procurerez aux uns sera commun aux autres; car je desire qu'ils soyent tellement unis d'amitié qu'ils n'ayent rien qui les puisse séparer. Et pour ce que je craindroys estre ennuyeuse de plus de langage, je le finiray, remettant le surplus à ce porteur, lequel vous croirez, s'il vous plaît.

(*Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, MSS. de Conrart. Collection in octavo, vol. V.)

The Conrart collection contains also three other letters in the same style addressed by the Princess to D'Épernon.

[1] It appears from a note accompanying this letter, that this refers to the death of the Duchesse d'Épernon, which took place September 23, 1593.

IV. *To the Duc de Montmorency.*

Undated.

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Monsieur mon oncle, j'ay receu tout un temps avec beaucoup de contentement, sur l'espérance de vostre arrivée en cour; mais, lorsque j'ay seu la cause sinistre de votre retardement, jugez, je vous supplie, combien de douleurs ensemble j'ay ressenty en l'âme; la plus cruelle est celle de la perte que vous avez faite,[1] que je n'estime m'estre moins dommageable qu'à vous; l'autre de me voir frustrée de l'attente que j'avoys d'en estre près, et de savoir votre heureux establissement au lieu où vos vertus auroyent plus de lustre, et où vous triompherez de ceux qui ne craignent rien tant que de vous voir près du soleil. Pardonnez, Monsieur mon oncle, à ma liberté poussée d'un zèle très-ardent de voir la restauration de cet état par vostre moyen. Ceux qui voyent le plus clair jettent les yeux sur vous, et sur la créance qu'ils ont que vous, estant près du Roy, revêtu de telle authorité, apporterez de l'amendement aux affaires de Sa Majesté et n'empirerez les vostres. Les accidens qui vous sont survenus depuis la résolution de votre voyage sont sujets assez suffisans d'avoir apporté de la longueur en l'exécution d'icelui. Mais, Monsieur, au nom de Dieu, surmontez toutes ces difficultez, et que l'affection du bien public ne vous face oublier ce qui est de votre particulier, à quoy on ne peut remédier. J'ay pensé estre très-nécessaire de vous envoyer ce porteur pour vous représenter la face des affaires; bien que je sache que vous avez souvent des avis certains, si est-ce qu'y ayant intérêt, et ne voulant avoir recours, après Dieu, qu'à vostre faveur, je l'ay bien instruit sur les principales occasions qui pressent de donner ordre aux affaires de mon fils et de moi; il les vous fera entendre, s'il vous plaît les écouter, vous suppliant très-humblement, Monsieur, vous y employer, et donner la dernière main: c'est de vous de qui j'espère tout mon bien, à vous seul en seray-je obligée, et dépendray perpétuellement de vos volontez, nourrissant ce que j'ay de plus précieux en pareille dévotion. Vous acquerrez doublement ce qui vous est par devoir assez acquis, et croiez au porteur de ce qu'il vous dira de ma part.

(*Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, MSS. de Conrart. Collection in octavo, vol. V.)

[1] The death of the Duke's son Hercule, which took place shortly after the year 1591 (accompanying note). On the other hand, Montmorency took the oaths as Connétable in July 1595. This letter must have been written between these two dates.

XIV.

The Marquis de Pisani to the King.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 4 décembre 1595.

Sire,

Hier au soir, Monseigneur le prinse de Condé et Madame sa mère arivèrent en se lieu, aiant couché à S^t^-Clou, où Mesieurs le chanselier de Belièvre, de Sansi, de Chomberc et aultres Mesieurs du conseils le vindrent visiter, qui le trouvèrent fort beau et spirituel, comme à la vérité il le l'est, et croys, sil est bien conduict, que Vostre Magesté demourra très-satisfaicte et contante de l'honneur qu'elle luy faict d'avoir pris soin de luy et de le faire norir, me asurant qu'il se randera propre de luy faire service en quelque bonne oquasion, quant les forses luy en donneront le moien, s'asurant que, le tamps qu'il plaira à V. M. que ie demoure auprès de luy, que ie ne luy donneray aultre laison (*leçon*) que l'observanse et honneur qu'il le luy doibt porter. Il est ausi trè-nésésaire qu'elle ne soufre auprès de luy que ians vertueux et très-afectionnés à vostre roial service, et tenir sète maxime de luy donner moins de ians qui se poura, pour qu'il n'y ait poinct de confusion en sa maison, mais tout le bon ordre qu'il se poura. Madame sa mère a un très-grand soin de luy, et a mis tonte la diliganse qu'elle a peu de le rendre issi. Il est très-nésesaire qu'au plutaust l'on luy donne un bon présepteur (ie dis bon, Sire), parse qu'il ne luy fault donner qu'une personne vertueuse et très-confidante à vostre service. L'on ne luy doibt laisé set esprit que le moins que l'on poura oesif, de peur qu'il se aplique, comme il le l'a très-vif et pront, à petites vaganteries, auquels ses esprits prompts se apliquent volontiers, si à bonne heure l'on n'y remédie. V. M. me commandera et ordonnera, s'il luy plest, au plutaust se qu'elle veust que ie fase à selle fin que, sachant sa roialle volonté, ie n'y faille d'un seul poinct. Led. sieur prinse n'a moien ne crédict que seluy qu'il luy plaira luy donner. Il n'a nule sorte de meuble, et couche avecque Madame sa mère, qui est cause que ie ne le puise voir ne le matin ne le soir pour prandre le soin de luy que ie desiroes, pour le retirer de beaucoup de petites libertés que le temps luy pouroest aporter, si le remède n'y es à bonne heure. M^r^ de Roian va tout exprès trouver V. M. pour luy donner particulier conte du progrès du voiage de mond. seignor le Prince, qui a esté receu partout où il a pasé conforme aus commandemants qu'elle avoit faict tant à ses gouverneurs generots que par-

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ticuliers, comme ausi aux maires et eschevins de ses villes où nous avons pasé, aiant à vous asurer que tout le monde y a faict son devoir, si se ne sont seus de Montleri, où ie avoes donné le département de la compagnée de mond. seigneur, qui logoit se soir là à Châtre, et alant logé lad. compagne, il la resurent si bien à coup d'arquebus qu'il en demoura troes fort honnestes homme sur la plase, si blesés qu'il sera difisille qu'ils en eschapent. Ie croy que, si ie n'y huse ausi taust remédié, que la troupe, où il y a çant bons hommes, en hust heu la revanche sur-le-champ, mais ils se accommodèrent à se que ie vouleus, qui fut de commètre Rapin à informer de ses exès, comme il a faict si dextremant quil en amène les principaults prisonniers à Paris. J'ay donné avis à Monseigneur le prince de Conti de se faict, à Mr le chanselier et à Mr le premier présidant, qui ont iugé le faict digne d'un châtimant examplaire, et ausi que seus dud. Montleri sont coustumiers à telles insolanses à toutes les troupes qui pasent par là, se confiant à de meschantes murailles qui mériteroest estre mise par terre. Il plaira à V. M de commandé à mond. sieur le prince de Conti et à Mesieurs de sa court de parlemant, quil soit faict iustice de set exès. Sète compagnee la va trouver, qui est de cent bons chevots, et croy que, si l'oquasion se ofre, qu'elle en sera bien servie. Ie suplie très-humblemant V. M. de me donner congé de aller trouvé ma fame, que ie croy estre à sète heure arrivée à Lion, croiant estre obligé de raison de luy aller au-devant, puisqu'elle n'a poinct crint de faire un si long et fâcheus voiage, laiser sa patrie, ses parants et biens pour me venir trouver, sans crindre ausi de se qu'elle sait les peu de commodités et moiens que i'ay de la recepvoir autant que sa qualité le méritent, ne me trouvant, après sinquante ans qu'il y a que ie sers, que le plus misérable iantilhomme de se roiaulme, devant plus que mon bien ne vauld, et seray enfin contrainct par ma nésésité de me retirer en quelque trou dont ie ne sorte jamais, pour n'estre importun davantage à V. M., la supliant très-humblemant de me pardonner si ie l'ay esté pour séte fois, et la suplie de commander à Mesieurs de ses finanses de me paier se qui m'est deu, si ne se peut tout d'un coup, pour le moins d'une partie, comme le pouront porter ses finanses, pour que ie puise susister aus incommodités qui me pressent.

(Original autograph. *Archives de Condé.*)

XV.

The Princesse de Condé to the Connétable.

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Monsieur, il fault tousiours que je vous importune des affaires de mon fils, et aye recours à vous. Il me fâche que ce soit pour sy peu de chosse comme du retranchemant que Monsr de Rony veut faire de catre mille escus sur la pansion qu'il a pleu au Roy Monseigneur ordonner à mon fils. C'est bien loing d'espérer à l'avenir ocmantation, puis quant sy peticte somme l'on la diminue. Tout ceulx quy ont assisté au conseil lors quy c'est traicté de ceste affaire ont aporté ce qu'il leur a esté possible pour ampescher que le retranchement n'eust lieu. Mais led. Sr de Rony luy seul a faict cecte résolution, à ce que l'on m'a dist. Je ne say sy Sa Magesté luy a commandé ; mais il l'a formée estrangemant an ce dessain. Pour moy, Monsieur, il ne m'est possible de subsister à douze mille escus, ou bien il fault chasser la moityé de ceulx qui sont an la maison de mond. fils, n'aiant aucun moien de son chef. J'ay jusques à cest heure emploié le mien, affin que sa maison se maintiéne onorablement, et de telle sorte que j'y suis angagé à bon essiant. Je craindrois anfin que l'on se mosquât de moy et n'an avoir autre raison. Pour ce quy sera de l'antretenement de mond. fils, je ne manqueray jamais de continuer de l'assister comme j'ay faict. Mais de sa suite, elle ne peut estre sy grande sy l'on n'y mest autre ordre. Je pansois aussy estre assignée de deux mille escus de Guiene ; mais l'on les refuse aussy bien que le reste, de fason que nous resantons toutes sortes de disgrasse, lorsqu'il samble que tout le monde se resant du bien de la pais. Je ne me laseray de bien faire et de donner tousiours occasion de contantemant à Sa Magesté an toutes mes actions. Je vous suplie, Monsieur, m'obliger d'antreprandre ceste affaire, laquelle est très-juste, et je demoureray toute ma vye résolue de vous randre l'obéisance et service que je vous dois et d'estre perpétuellement,

Monsieur,

Vostre bien humble et obéisante niepce à vous faire service,

CH. DE LA TRÉMOILLE.

La partye de Monsr de Haucourt et de Monsr Lefebvre, précepteur de mon fils, est aussy bien réduite que la nostre. Le servisse très-fidèle et utille qu'ils rande tous les jours à mon fils mérite que l'on

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ait soing d'eux. Je vous suplye qu'ils ne soit retranché an leurs asinasions (*assignations*).

(Original autograph. *Archives de Condé.*)

The following letter appears to have been written earlier than the preceding one; doubtless it had remained unanswered.

The Princesse de Condé to the King.

Undated.

Sire,

C'est avec un extrême regret que je suis contrainte d'importuner V. M. de ma très-humble supplication d'avoir agréable de commander à Mr de Rosny de faire achever de payer le dernier quartier de l'année passée et de la présente de la pension qu'il luy a pleu ordonner à mon fils, et de celle de son gouvernement; ayant toujours esté assurée que ç'a esté l'intention de V. M., ce qui m'avoit empêchée jusques à cette heure de luy donner la peine d'estre ennuyée de ce discours. La nécessité me force d'y avoir recours. Les receveurs nous doivent dix mille écus d'arrérages, de sorte, Sire, qu'il est hors de mon pouvoir, encore qu'ordinairement je face les avances du mien et y employe ce que je puis, pour n'incommoder V. M., de faire plus attendre ceux qui fournissent la maison de mon fils, s'il ne luy plait d'écrire à Mr de Rosny sa volonté. Il est tellement nourry à ne respirer que ses commandements, et de n'avoir autre soin que de luy rendre toutes ses actions agréables, comme votre créature, que je me promets n'avoir jamais sujet de regretter le bien qu'elle luy a fait et continué. Aussi ne peut-il avoir d'avancement de bonne fortune et d'honneur que celuy qu'il recevra de V. M. Honorez-moy, Syre, de croire qu'autant que je vivray, j'aideray à luy engraver les impressions de son devoir, qui ont commencé à prendre telles racines en son âme qu'il ne prendra fin qu'avec sa vie. Pardonnez-moy si j'entretiens trop V. M. sur ce sujet: accusez-en mon affection, et qu'elle reçoyve la créance de ma fidélité.

(*Bibliothèque de l'Arsena*, MSS. de Conrart. Collection in octavo, vol. V.)

XVI.

The Princesse de Condé to M. de Haucourt.

Undated.

J'ay différé jusques à votre dernière lettre à vous faire réponce pour ne vouloir estre accusée de précipitation; mais, puisque vous

continuez à blâmer mes meilleures actions et celles qui doivent estre reconnues de vous principalement plus favorables à ceux de la Religion que contraires, comme le témoigne la mauvaise créance que vous en avez, je suis contrainte d'opposer à ces opinions sans raison la vertu toute simple, qui seule les peut distraire. Ce qui est à la veue de tout le monde ne se peut déguiser, ni voiler, de telle sorte que la confusion des médisans ne soit prête à paroistre au jour. La nourriture de mon fils est si vertueuse qu'elle ne luy apprend à haïr ceux dont luy et les siens ont receu de bons et signalez services; son inclination le porte à les estimer et non à leur nuire, bien qu'il en eust le pouvoir: sa naissance et son naturel sont trop différens de cette pernicieuse impression, et ma volonté assez claire aux yeux de mes domestiques, et je diray de toute la France, pour ne devoir estre cachée aux vostres, qui les devez ouvrir à vostre âme et les employer à dissiper le nuage que l'on y fait naistre par artifice. Rejettez donc ces ennemis de vostre repos, et chérissez autant que vous devez celuy dont vous pouvez espérer le maintien de vostre estre et l'augmentation de vostre bonne fortune, et ne méprisez point ce qu'un milion des plus grans de l'Europe souhaittent d'avoir comme vous. J'ay dit à Mons^{r} de Bélin vos pleintes sur ce sujet; il vous en écrit: il n'a donné jusques à cette heure autre conseil à mon dit fils que celuy que pouvez desirer; et moy, qui ne manqueray jamais de vous honnorer et rendre preuve de mon amitié, je vous baise les mains.

The Same to the Same.

Undated.

Si le mal qui procède de l'artifice des ennemis peut avoir la force de donner de vives atteintes à une âme courageuse, combien plus celles qui viennent de vous, que je devois estimer un second moy-même, me doivent-elles estre sensibles, et du tout insupportables, puisqu'elles sont en la connaissance de ceux dont la créance de notre union leur avoit esté souvent confirmée par mes discours ordinaires? Et, bien qu'entre proches il se passe quelquefois des affaires qui les brouillent, si est-ce qu'il est nécessaire, en ce qui regarde le principal, de se réserver l'esprit sain, pour n'y laisser glisser nulle sorte de mauvaises impressions qui puissent altérer l'amitié. J'écris ce que je fays, car, encore que vos lettres fussent assez suffisantes pour troubler les plus forts, le mien est demeuré et se conservera en son premier estre, ne desirant de faire rire nos ennemis, ni ôter la bonne opinion que mes amis ont toujours eue de mon bon naturel. Vous

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ne me serez obligé: en vivant comme je doy, c'est pour me satisfaire, et je ne recherche de contenter par mes effets vos passions, ni moins d'essayer à les modérer. Il vous est permis, et je l'auray bien agréable, lorsqu'il se présentera occasion, de me départir de vos avis, mais non de commenter sur toutes mes actions; je les doy savoir régler; si ce n'est par l'âge, mes continuelles et diverses traverses m'ont donné trop d'expérience, et ôté la vanité accoutumée à ceux de ce siècle, et principalement de mon sexe. Je vous supplie donc que ce soyent les derniers traits de la foiblesse qui reste en votre âme; je vous proteste aussi que cette lettre sera la dernière de ce stile. Je vous baise les mains.

(*Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, MSS. de Conrart. Collection in octavo, vol. V.)

XVII.

The Princesse de Condé to the Comtesse de Moret.[1]

Undated.

Madame la comtesse, estant obligée par devoir, et plus de volanté, d'honnorer tout se que le Roy ayme, j'ay desiré, en vous rendant cet agréable devoir, estre reconnue de vous pour celle du monde qui se réjouit davantage de votre gloreiuse fortune, et qui, par autant de veux très-devosts, requiert continuellement au ciel de vouloir continuer à Sa Majesté ce contentement, et à vous ce bonheur, à très-longues années, sans que jamais cette indigne, de la forcenerie de laquelle votre beauté nous a tous délivrez, Leurs Majestez, ce royaume et moy, se puisse relever de sa cheute. Dieu, qui, pour le bien du Roy, a esté autheur de ce tant souhaité effet, exauçant ma prière, accompagnée de celle de tous les gens de bien, en sera le conservateur, et me donnera le moyen, comme je l'en requiers, de me faire paroistre, par quelque digne effet, votre etc.

The Princesse de Condé to the Prince de Condé, her Son.

Undated.

Mon fils, je ne pensoys devoir recevoir à mon réveil un deplaisir si extrême que votre lettre me fait ressentir, de reconnoistre que le

[1] Jacqueline de Bueil. Her grandmother, Jacqueline de la Trémouille, was aunt to the Princesse. She herself, having been left an orphan, had been brought up, as has been already stated, at the Hôtel de Condé. This letter must have been written in October 1604, at the time of the marriage of the

Roy ayt dû mécontentement de moy sur un sujet qui me semble luy devoir estre indifférent, et me défendre l'honneur de la présence de Sa Majesté, de celle de la Reyne, en considération d'une créature que j'ay trop chèrement nourrie,[1] pour estre cause de me priver de ce que j'estime plus mille fois que ma vie, n'ayant jamais pensé mériter, par ce moyen, cette défaveur, qui me seroit insupportable si, par une seule de mes imaginations, j'estois si misérable de l'avoir offensée. Je me consoleray donc en mon malheur, et conserveray inviolablement l'affection très-fidelle que je dois à son très-humble service, recevant, sans plainte, tout ce qu'elle ordonnera de moy, en vivant icy autant qu'elle l'aura agréable, sans aller l'importuner, jusques au temps que ses commandemens me feront changer cette résolution, puisque je suis si malheureuse de ne luy pouvoir rendre de plus signalées preuves de ma dévotion qu'en l'occasion qui s'offre, espérant témoigner, par toutes mes actions, qu'il n'y a rien qui me puisse faire sortir des limites de mon devoir.

(*Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, Conrart MSS. Collection in octavo, vol. V.)

XVIII.

Le contrat de mariage de 'Henry de Bourbon, premier prince du sang, premier pair de France, prince de Condé, duc d'Anguyen, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy en Guienne,' et de 'Madamoiselle Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorancy, fille de Monseigneur le connestable et de deffuncte Madame Loyse de Budoz, jadis sa femme en secondes nopces,' fut fait et passé 'en la galerie du chasteau du Louvre, le 2 mars 1609 : furent présens ; le Roy ; les deux Reines ; le prince de Conti ; le comte de Soissons ; la princesse douairière de Condé ; Henry, duc de Montmorancy, pair et connestable de France ; Charles de Montmorancy, seigneur de Dampville, Gonnor et aultres lieux, admiral de France et de Bretagne, oncle de la future épouse ; Madame Diane, légitimée de France, duchesse d'Angoulême, sa tante ; Henry de Montmorancy, gouverneur pour le Roy en Languedoc, son frère unique ; Dame Jeanne d'Espeaux,[2]

Comtesse de Moret, of the beginning of her avowed favour with the King, and of the disgrace of the Marquise de Verneuil.

[1] The Comtesse de Moret.

[2] Thus written usually called Scepeaux.

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duchesse de Beaupréau, femme de mond. seigneur de Montmorancy;[1] Dame Marie de Rieux, veufve de Mre Guy d'Espeaux, vivant duc de Beaupréau, comte de Chemellé, mère d'icelle Dame Jeanne d'Espeaux; Dame Charlotte de Montmorancy, femme et espouze de Monseigneur Charles de Vallois, comte d'Auvergne, sœur de la future épouse; Monsieur Henry de Vallois, comte de Lauraguais, son nepveu; Messire Henry de la Tour, duc de Bouillon, prince de Sedan, Jamex et Raucourt, premier mareschal de France, et premier gentilhomme de la chambre du Roi; Messire Charles de Cossé, chevalier des ordres du Roy, comte de Brissac, mareschal et grand pannetier de France, ses cousins; Dame Renée de Cossé, femme et espouze de mondict seigneur l'admiral, son oncle; Messire Gaspard de Colligny, chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, seigneur de Chastillon, Charles de Colligny, aussy chevalier, seigneur d'Andelot, ses cousins; Anthoine Herculles de Budos, seigneur et vicomte de Portes, son oncle; François des Ursins, chevalier des ordres du Roy, seigneur et marquis de Treynel, et Louis de Montmorancy, chevalier, seigneur de Boudeville, bailly et gouverneur de Senlis, cousins de madicte damoiselle de Montmorancy: et aussy le conseil de mondict seigneur le prince, savoir est: Monsieur Me Martin Langlois, seigneur de Beaurepaire, conseiller du Roy et maistre ordinaire des requestes de son hostel, nobles hommes maistres Nicolas Lefèvre, advocat en la cour de parlement, cydevant précepteur de mondict seigneur, Loys Dolé, seigneur du Vivier en Brye, conseiller et procureur général de la Roine, et advocat de mondict seigneur le Prince, René Macgueignon, Pierre Parenteau, Claude Énoch Virey, et Ysaac de Lagrange, secrétaire, et maistre Michel Ribère, médecin de mondict seigneur le Prince; et le conseil de mondict seigneur le connestable, sçavoir est: nobles hommes Maistres Nicolas Girard, seigneur de Tillay en France, Anthoine Arnauld, seigneur d'Andilly, advocat en la cour de parlement et de mondict seigneur, et Pierre Forestier, conseiller et procurer du Roy en la prévosté de la connestablie et mareschaulcée de France.'

Les principales stipulations du contrat étaient les suivantes:

Le Roi donnait au futur époux cent cinquante mille livres;

[1] Jeanne de Scepeaux married, in 1609, Henri de Montmorency, who was then fourteen years old; this marriage was shortly afterwards dissolved, in order that the young nobleman might be at liberty to marry Mademoiselle de Vendôme, the King's legitimated daughter. But the death of Henri IV. intervening, this project was no longer entertained, and Montmorency married Marie-Félice des Ursins, a lady rendered illustrious by her piety and her devotion to the memory of her husband.

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Les futurs époux seraient mariés communs de biens, sauf certaines réserves ;

L'amiral, oncle de la future épouse, lui donnait les trois quarts de la terre de Saint-Lyébault, sise au baillage de Troyes, et la terre d'Orvillières, sise près Montdidier, mais s'en réservant l'usufruit ;

Le connétable donnait à sa fille trois cent mille livres et une rente annuelle de cinq mille livres tant que durerait l'usufruit de l'amiral ;

La future épouse renonçait à la succession de son père et de sa mère, sauf le cas où, son frère mourant sans enfants, elle serait rappelée, avec ses sœurs, au partage desdites successions ;

Une rente annuelle de douze mille livres et la jouissance d'une des châteaux de Valery, Laz (?), ou Muret, étaient assignées à la future épouse, à titre de douaire, en cas de prédécès de son mari.

Les expéditions du contrat, revêtues du scel de la prévosté de Paris, furent faites et passées doubles 'en l'hostel de Montmorancy à Paris, rue Saincte-Avoye,' le 3 mars 1609.

(*Archives de France*, K. 558.)

XIX.

Despatches and documents from the Archives of the Kingdom of Belgium. (1609 and 1610.)

The Prince de Condé to the Archdukes.

Landrecies, 1er décembre 1609.

Messeigneurs,

Aïant dessain d'envoïer ma femme vers Madame ma sœur la princesse d'Orenge, et moy d'aller trouver Vos Altesses pour des raisons que je les suplie très-humblement vouloir ouïr de ma bouche, j'ai despeché ce gentilhomme exprès pour suplier très-humblement Vos Altesses vouloir me donner seureté en vos terres, et permission de vous aller béser les mains. Si vous ne m'accordés ceste grâce, il y va de mon honneur et de ma vie, mais l'assurance que j'ay que Vos Altesses ne refuseront refuge aus affligés m'a fait entreprendre ce chemin. Croïés, Messeigneurs, que vous n'obligerés

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un ingrat, qui aura, avec la grâce de Dieu, moïen de vous rendre du service, vous supliant très-humblement me tenir à jamais,

Messeigneurs,

Vostre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

HENRY DE BOURBON,
Prince de Condé.

Charles, Duc de Croy et d'Arschot, to the Archduke Albert.

2 décembre 1609.

Monseigneur,

J'ay receu la lettre qu'il a pleu à Vostre Altèze m'escripre en créance sur le comte de Fontenoy,[1] lequel m'ayant communicqué tout au loing le contenu de tout ce quy s'est passé, touchant le personnaige que est arrivé à Landrechies avecq sa femme, comme aussy du contenu de la lettre qu'iceluy a escript à Vostre Altèze, et sur quoy Vostre Altèze me commande de luy réservir de mon advis, et encores que ci me sens incapable de luy donner quelque bon advis là-dessus, sy est néantmoins qu'il ne manquera au debvoir et fidélité mienne de m'en acquitter suivant mon petit talent, comme ung vray fidel vassal et très-humble serviteur est tenu et obligé de faire.

Je serois doncque d'avis, Monseigneur, soubs très-humble correction de Vostre Altèze, que, n'ayant faict ledict personnaige chose contrevenant au debvoir qu'il doibt à son Roy et royaulme, et estant venu se mectre en lieu en-debsous de l'obéissance de Vostre Altèze, pour le subject par luy alléghé, qu'iceluy est tel que Vostre Altèze ne luy doibt refuser touttes sortes de courtoisies et faveurs, estant de la qualité qu'il est, et de mesme à sa femme. Et à ces fins, le plustot le meilleur, craindant quelque réquisition hâtive qui pourroit venir de la part du roy de France à Vostre Altèze touchant ce faict, et quy pourroit mectre en doubte ou en paine icelle de deux costez, que Vostre Altèze donnast incontinant permission à sa femme de pouvoir librement passer son chemin par les pays de son obéyssance, pour pouvoir aller trouver sa sœure où elle est. Sy, comme dame et esseullée qu'elle est, Vostre Altèze, par son accoustumée prudence et discrétion, trouve convenir de faire uzer par les chemins de quelque courtoisie envers elle, je le remest à Vostre Altèze.

Quant au faict du mary, s'il desire aller le mesme chemin quant et quant, j'en userois avecq luy de mesme, et se seroit bien le meilleur et plus convenable et expédient, pour les raisons d'estat que Vostre Altèze mieulx que moy peult considérer.

[1] Charles-Alexandre de Croy, nephew of the Duc d'Arschot.

Sinon, s'il persiste de venir baiser les mains à Vostre Altèze, encoires que se seroit bien meilleur de par bon moïen s'en excuser, je remect ce faict à la discrétion d'icelle ; mais il conviendroict lors de donner bonne ordre que par les chemins nulz inconvénients ne luy vinssent de la part de celluy qu'elle sçayt, sur les pays de son obéyssance, et singulièrement à la sortie de la ville frontière où il est.

S'il demande saulf-conduict de Vostre Altèze pour demeurer en quelque ville ou place de sa dicte obéissance, estant le subject tel, ung prince sy grand comme Vostre Altèze le peult bien accorder ; mais se seroit bien de meilleur de, avecq quelque courtoisie et faveur, luy faire persuader de vouloir prendre le mesme chemin que sa femme pour les raisons que dessus. Mais s'il persistoit au contraire, et que Vostre Altèze luy volusse accorder ledict saulf-conduit en son pays, les places qu'elle luy pourroît accorder samble qu'icelles debveront estre les plus esloignées de touttes les frontières du lieu où il est, tant pour éviter les inconvénients apparents, que la suyte et venue de plusieurs noblesses quy le vouldroient venir trouver, comme j'entens plusieurs s'y apprestent. Ce quy ne pourroit sinon apporter beaucop d'ombraige qui ne sont que bons d'éviter en ce tamps présent, aultant qu'on peult, et partant les places que Vostre Altèze luy pouroit accorder, pourroient estre assizes au mitant de son pays, et en grandes villes, telles qu'icelle trouvera convenir.

The Connétable de Montmorency to the Archduke Albert.

16 janvier 1610.

Sérénissime prince, Vostre Altesse a desià donné tant de tesmoignages de sa bonne vollonté et courtoysie à Madame la Princesse, ma fille, que j'oze me promettre qu'elle la luy continuera, et qu'elle ne voudra point souffrir, puisque Monseigneur le Prince ne veult poinct revenir en France, qu'elle sorte de Brusselles pour estre errante par le monde, à suivre ung jeune prince lequel n'a aucun desseing arresté en son esprit. C'est pour se subject que j'ay envoyé ce porteur vers Vostre Altesse.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

1er février 1610.

Monseigneur,

Un homme du marquis de Queuvre (*Cœuvres*) apporta ces jours icy nouvelles au roy très-chrestien, que Vostre Altèze lui avoit donné audience, le 23 du courant, avecq toutes les courtoisies et

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démonstrations de bonne et favorable volonté qu'il eust pu desirer, de manière qu'il s'en tenoit infiniment obligé à icelle, ce que le Roy a eu pour fort agréable, s'asseurant de plus en plus de la sincère affection de Vostre Altèze à procurer le retour du prince de Condé, ainsy que m'ont dict hier le chancellier et le baron de Bonœil. Desquelz j'ay en outre sceu que le lendemain de la dicte audience Vostre Altèze envoya le sieur de Vendegies[1] parler audict marquis au subject de son ambassade, sans qu'ilz m'ayent dict en particulier ce qui s'y est passé. Trop bien me déclara le chancellier que l'instruction dudict marquis est dressée sur le pied de ce que le Roy m'a donné à entendre de sa volonté et résolution sur cet affaire, et que pour le présent l'on ne touche qu'au premier point, à sçavoir de la réconciliation dudict prince, en donnant par le Roy promesse à Vostre Altèze de le recevoir en sa grâce, avec oubliance des choses passées et toutes sortes de bons traittements, selon la qualité d'icelluy, soubs les conditions proposées endroit la résidence de la princesse sa femme. Je respondiz qu'il ne resteroit jà à Vostre Altèze que la réconciliation ne se feist, ny à Sa Majesté catholique non plus, d'aultant que j'avois apprins qu'elle ne l'auroit pas à desplaisir, comme de vray je l'ay ainsi entendu de don Innigo de Cardenas, qui a desiré que par occasion j'en rendisse certains les ministres de cette cour, en tesmoignage bien évident que le départ dudict prince n'a pas esté complotté avec sa dicte Majesté, quoyque l'on en ayt soubçonné et criaillé par deçà. Le chancellier se monstra très-aise de ce avis, comme feit aussi par après ledict de Bonœil, lequel me dit conséquemment en confiance que le Roy commence à entrer en opinion, et la Royne croyt fermement, que *ledict prince n'a point d'intelligence avecq sa dicte Majesté ny avecq Vostre Altèze, mais la pourroit bien avoir avecq aultres princes françois, et mesmes aulcuns du sang, ou bien avecq les Huguenots.*[2] Et, crainte de cette intelligence, ledict chancellier et de Bonœil, à les ouyr parler, n'ont pas beaucoup d'espoir de ladicte réconciliation, pour ce mesmement que ledict prince faict paroistre par ses propos de n'avoir le cœur disposé au service de son Roy, ny de ses enffans, jusques à avoir demandé à table, en une compagnie où ladicte princesse beuvoit à la santé de la

[1] Nicolas de Montmorency, Seigneur de Vendegies, Baron d'Haverskerque, belonged to a branch of this illustrious family which had been established in Flanders since the end of the fifteenth century. He was a Counsellor of State, and had succeeded his uncle Maximilien Villain, Comte d'Isenghien, in the place of head of the financial department to their Serene Highnesses the Archdukes. He died in 1617. (Duchesne, 'Histoire de la maison de Montmorency,' i. 334.)

[2] In this and the following documents, words printed in italics are in cypher.

royne de France, quelle royne elle entendoit, puisqu'il y en avoit tant. Je ne sçay pas si cela est véritable, mais bien m'a confessé *ledicte de Bonnœil* que le S^r^ de Berny a donné des advis au Roy de semblables discours prétenduz tenuz par ledict prince, que l'on trouve sans apparence de preuve, dont le Roy, qui comme picqué s'estoit facilement laissé emporter à les croyre, a maintenant peu de satisfaction dudict de Berny. J'ay tasché de sonder si, à faulte de ladicte réconciliation, le roy très-chrestien se roidira à prétendre que Vostre Altèze interdise audict prince le séjour en ses pays. Et, à ce que j'ay peu recueillir des discours du chancellier, l'on fait estat par deçà que ledict prince demandera bientost qu'on le laisse aller, s'il voit qu'on lui donne le tort de refuser le party qui luy est offert, et qu'on ne luy donne point d'entretenement, m'ayant ledict chancellier représenté qu'il n'est encore besoin de presser ce point, comme s'il eust voulu dire que *le Roy de France s'est un peu hasté de m'en parler*, avant que ladicte réconciliation soit faillie, et que possible l'on y apportera quelqu'autre accommodement, en conservant la réputation de part et d'autre, sans que l'intention du Roy soit d'y procéder autrement, et moins d'user d'aucunes bravades ou menaces non plus envers Vostre Altèze que sadicte Majesté, dont ledict chancellier faisoit de très-grandes protestations, affirmant que le Roy ne parle jamais de cette matière qu'avecq la discrétion et respect deu à telz princes ses voisins, et mesmes avecq déclaration de vouloir recognoistre l'obligation estroite qu'il leur aura s'ilz continuent à y faire les bons offices jà commencez, comme il l'avoit aussi dict au marquis de Guadaleste, lui tesmoignant qu'il desiroit demeurer en amytié fraternelle avecq sadicte Majesté et Vostre Altèze, mais que le plus grand tort (il disoit *aggravio* en espagnol) qu'elles luy pourroient faire, ce seroit d'entretenir et fomenter ledict prince en leurs estats. Et si l'on avoit rapporté à Vostre Altèze que le Roy eust usé d'autres termes en son regard, ou de sadicte Majesté, ledict chancellier me requéroit de les asseurer qu'il n'en est rien, comme Vostre Altèze trouveroit aussy de fait par les propositions et remonstrances que ledict marquis de Queuvre est enchargé de luy faire avesq toute la doulceur et modestie dont il se pourra adviser. L'on faict icy courrir le bruit que ledict prince, estant venu visiter ledict marquis le lendemain de son arrivée, luy auroit dict qu'il ne luy pourroit donner aucune responce sur le faict de sa réconciliation, sans au préalable avoir nouvelles d'Espaigne. Mais lesdicts chancellier et Bonœil ne s'y arrestent pas, croyans plustost que le prince pourroit avoir dict que Vostre Altèze ne résouldra rien sur ce fait, sans estre informée de l'intention de sadicte Majesté. J'ay esté bien aise au

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reste d'entendre d'eulx que le Roy leur maistre, trouvant fort bonne la courtoisie de la sérénissime infante envers ladicte princesse, de lui avoir envoyé des estoffes à se pourveoir d'habits, va perdant l'opinion qui luy avoit esté imprimée de l'argent que sadicte Majesté auroit fait fournir audict prince, jusques à douze mille escuz, dont on avoit parlé avec tant d'affirmation que si on les eust veu compter. . . .

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

4 février 1610.

Monseigneur,

Avecq beaucoup de raison m'escrit V. Alte de ne m'avoir jamais commandé qu'au cas que le prince de Condé ne se soubmeist à demander pardon et retourner en France, j'eusse à donner parole au roy très-chrestien que V. Alte feroit sortir led. prince hors de ses pays, et retiendroit la princesse sa femme par delà, promesse à laquelle je n'ay aussy oncques pensé, et c'est pourquoy *j'ay trouvé fort estrange ce que le marquis de Cœuvres a dit contre vérité, et plus encore de ce que j'ay entendu de don Inigo de Cardenäs, que le Sr de Barrault, naguères ambassadeur du roy de France en Espagne, luy a affirmé d'avoir sceu de son maistre que V. A. auroit dit au Sr de Berny que si ce n'eust esté pour considérations d'Espagne, elle eust déjà délivré ledit prince entre les mains dudit Sr roy, lesquelles inventions ledit don Inigo estime avoir esté mises en avant à desseing d'irriter le roy d'Espagne contre V. A. S.*, et eust bien desiré que *j'eusse tenu secrètes lesdites nouvelles de Barrault;* ce que toutesfois je ne luy ay pas promis, *m'estant advis que V. A. en doibt estre informée afin qu'elle voye combien seroit dangereuse la créance de ce que l'on s'aventure icy de dire.* Il est vray néanmoings que, *plus de quinze jours devant que l'on eust parlé de faire venir ledit prince à Bruxelles pour traicter de sa réconciliation, V. A. m'envoya ses lettres* en date du 4e décembre dernier passé, dont la copie va cy-joincte, par lesquelles je fuz adverti de ce qu'elle avoit déclairé audit Sr de Berny, qu'il pouvoit asseurer ledit Sr roy qu'elle *ne souffriroit que ledit prince feist séjour, et moins sa demeure fixe, rière les pays de son obéyssance,* avecq commandement qu'elle me feit de me servir de cest advis-là, et ainsy que je le trouverois convenir; ensuite de quoy j'en diz aussy un mot en passant audit *Sr roy trois jours après, selon qu'il est apparu par mes lettres* du 7e dudit mois; mais, comme *le Roy n'en faisoit lors aulcun compte, tout fasché qu'il estoit du passage accordé par V. A. S. audit prince, aussy ne m'en a-il depuis parlé, ny aultre personne que soit;* au contraire, ayant entendu de moy, le 19e dudit mois, que

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V. A., pour seconder son desir, estoit contente de s'entremectre au faict de ladite réconciliation, il me dit entre aultres choses qu'il seroit bien que V. A. menaçast ledit prince de le faire incontinent sortir de ses pays, au cas qu'il ne se voullust mectre en son debvoir, voire il me requist d'écrire à V. A. S. qu'il la prioit de le faire desloger audit cas, sans faire mention d'aulcune promesse, non plus qu'il ne feit en l'audience du 7e du passé, *m'ayant lors seulement dit que son intention estoit*, arrivant que ledit prince refusast le party à luy offert, que V. A. ne luy permeist pas la demeure en ses pays, de manière que ce qu'il peult avoir dict au marquis de Cœuvre de ladicte prétendue promesse *ne se peult prendre que pour une cassade*, ainsi que V. A. entendra encore mieulx par les rencontres que j'eu en mon audience dujourd'hui, 3e de ce mois.

En laquelle après mes remonstrances courtoisement faictes de la peine prinse par V. A. et par aucuns de ses ministres à ce commis pour disposer et induire ledit prince à embrasser ledit parti, et de la sincère volonté qu'avoit V. A. de continuer ces bons offices, je dis au Roy que jusques ores l'on n'en avoit pas tiré le fruict que l'on eust bien desiré, le prince prennant pour son excuse la crainte qu'il dict avoir d'estre blasmé de légèreté s'il retournoit sitost en France, mais qu'il seroit apparent de se résouldre à demander son pardon par escrit, et, icelui obtenu, se retirer, du gré et consentement du Roy, en quelque pays catholique non subject à Sa Majesté catholicque ny à V. A.; et le Roy, *sans me laisser bien achever ce propos, me répondit qu'il y avoit desjà quelque temps qu'il sçavoit ces nouvelles, et que ledit prince* avoit bon raison *de demander qu'il luy continuast sa pension pour l'entretenir hors de France, comme s'il avoit cause suffisante de s'en tenir absent;* que c'estoit folie de s'y attendre, et qu'il ne lui accorderoit jamais pardon, qu'à charge de retourner incontinent en son royaume; conséquemment il me dit qu'il ne vouloit plus penser à ladicte réconciliation, dont le prince se rendoit indigne par son opiniastreté, mais qu'il estoit *temps de le faire vuider des pays de V. A., comme elle avoit promiz audit marquiz de le faire, selon ce qu'elle en avoit auparavant faict dire par deçà.* A ceste parole je me retiré un pas arrière, comme estonné, et demandé au Roy si je l'avois bien entendu, à sçavoir que V. A. eust faict telle promesse audict marquis. Il me le répète et confirme. Et, sur ma repartie que V. A. ne m'en avoit rien escrit, le Roy voyant que je n'en voulois rien croire, change aussytost de langage, et me dist ces mots: 'Non, je m'abuse, je me mesprens, le marquis ne me l'a pas escrit ainsy; *mais ne m'avez-vous pas dit ci-devant que je m'asseurasse qu'il n'y auroit pas de difficulté en cela si le prince vouloit demeurer*

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obstiné ?' Je respons qu'il me l'avoit proposé peu devant le Noël, et que je m'estois chargé d'en donner advis à V. A., comme j'avois fait, pour attendre là-dessus sa response en temps et lieu, laquelle je n'avois pas encore receue, et n'en estois pas esmervillé, puisque le point de la réconciliation n'est encore failly, le priant de considérer si, *sans avoir nouvelles de mon maistre, je pouvois avoir engagé ma parole en ceste endroit.* Il repart : 'Puisque *vous désavouez cecy*, je voy bien que l'archiducq n'a point d'envie de me faire du plaisir, mais que ce sont de friperies dont vous avez usé jusques à présent ; bien, chacun verra ce qu'il aura à faire.' Et quoy que j'aye depuis protesté au contraire, et affirmé fort et ferme la sincérité de l'intention de V. Altèze et la candeur de mes paroles, le Roy est touiours demeuré en son propos, en quoy, avant que passer oultre au récit du surplus de ladicte audience je ne fay doubte que Votre Altèze ne remarque évidemment *l'artifice dont le Roy s'est servy, pensant m'attirer dans ses fillets et me trainer à quelque confession de promesse, dont je me suis bien gardé, parce que de vray tant s'en fault que j'aye faict celle par lui* advancée, qu'au contraire je ne lui ay rien dict à présent de l'intention de V. A. sur ledict point par luy proposé. Et, quant à ce que le 7e dudict mois de *décembre dernier j'ay coulé en mon discours sur le pied desdictes lettres de V. A. du* 4e, *il n'a rien de commun avecq ladicte proposition, qui n'estoit lors encore faicte, ny* 16 *jours après, et d'ailleurs ce n'est pas sur cela que le Roy veult fonder son dire*, tellement qu'il n'y a pas de subiect de s'en mectre en peine.

Et, pour faire veoir tout plus clèrement à V. A. le peu de fermeté qu'il y a eu *audict propos du Roy, il me voulut faire acroyre que V. A.*, en acceptant le premier des trois points de sa proposition faite ledict 19e de décembre dernier, qui estoit de faire venir ledict prince à Bruxelles pour le traitté de sa réconciliation, s'est quand et quand engagée et obligée à l'accomplissement des deux autres, lequel argument je souluz (*sic*) aiséement, en luy disant que lesdicts points estoient tous différents et proposez chacun à part soy, et nullement à condition de les accepter ou refuser tous ensemble, dont il n'avoit esté donné mot. Et à tant, laissant cette dispute, je demanday au Roy si ledit marquis de Cœuvre avoit requis V. A. de faire sortir ledict prince de ses pays, et ce qu'elle y avoit respondu ; sur quoy, comme il m'eut dict que ledict marquis en avoit parlé à V. A. et qu'elle avoit prins jour pour y respondre, je réplicquay qu'il n'avoit pas doncq d'occasion de se plaindre que V. A. n'en voulust rien faire, mais qu'il falloit attendre sa response, après qu'elle aura essayé si par la persuasion et recharge de ses bons offices elle ne pourra rien

gaigner sur ledict prince pour le faire retourner en France; et le Roy, persistant à maintenir que V. A. tascheroit de tirer la négociation à la longue en attendant nouvelles d'Espagne, et, en fin de compte, n'en feroit rien, me dit qu'il remanderoit ledict marquis de Cœuvre, et que mesmement il ne se soulcioit pas si ledict prince demeurant obstiné se tenoit en Espaigne, en Flandres, en Allemaigne, ou en quelque autre pays, puisque S. M. catholique le pourroit entretenir quelque part qu'il fust, soubs attente de se prévaloir un jour de sa personne pour troubler la France; à quoy je respondiz que les effectz rendoient desjà assez de tesmoignage combien la volonté de sadicte Majesté estoit esloignée de tel dessein, attendu qu'elle desiroit, conjointement avec V. A., que ledict prince s'en retournast réconcilié en sa patrie, dont je disois estre bien certain. Mais le Roy ne le voulut croire, disant que ce n'estoient que bons semblans, et que néantmoins il avoit enchargé son ambassadeur en Espaigne d'en parler à sa dicte Majesté, pour sçavoir si elle se voudra rendre raisonnable en ce subject, dont il avoit tant plus de cause de doubter que ledict prince a parlé à don Pedro de Toledo en cette ville, et depuis audict don Innigo, peu de temps devant sa retraite, comme il disoit en avoir des advis très-asseurez; joinct que ledict prince a dict au dict marquis ne pouvoir respondre sur ses propositions qu'il n'eust premièrement lettres d'Espaigne, et qu'il est aussy tout cognu que sadicte Majesté lui a desjà fait donner de l'argent, dont il a fait des payemens à ses gens jusques à deux mille escuz en espèces de ducatons. A propos de quoy le Roy me ramenta en outre que le marquis de Guadaleste luy avoit confessé d'avoir offert deniers audict prince, et que le marquis de Spinola avoit fait de mesme, tenant le Roy pour chose frivole que ledict prince, nécessiteux qu'il est, eust refusé de telles offres. De toutes lesquelles choses j'ay tasché de désabuser le Roy par tous les moyens dont j'ay peu m'adviser, mais avecq peu d'effect, au moins selon la mine qu'il en faisoit. Et, sur ma remonstrance itérative qu'ayant ledict prince son pardon par escrit, et jouyssant de sa pension en quelque pays neutre, l'on pourroit espérer avecq le temps de le retirer de là, de son bon gré, pour le remettre en cette cour, le Roy me respondit derechef fort résoluement qu'il ne luy donneroit jamais pardon qu'en France ou pour y venir.

Au regard de ladicte princesse, il ne m'a dict mot d'aucune promesse de la retenir par delà. Bien m'a-il parlé des mauvais traittemens qu'elle reçoit dudict prince, son mary, qui pourroient donner matière au connestable, son père, et qu'il espéroit que, si ladicte princesse se jectoit aux pieds de la sérénissime infante pour

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estre soulagée de tant d'afflictions, elle ne luy dénieroit pas son assistance afin de luy moyenner plus de repos. Disant aussy que ledict *marquiz de Spinola s'eust bien peu passer de certain propos par luy tenu, qu'il sembloit que l'on vouloit faire la sérénissime infante alcahueta de ladicte princesse.* De quoy je disois n'avoir rien entendu et croyre qu'il adjoustoit peu de foy à semblables rapports. Voullant sur ce bien dire à V. A. que ledict connestable ne cesse de lamenter et déplorer la fortuue de sa fille, de sorte qùe l'on a compassion de le veoir en telle destresse, sans néantmoins *que je sache ny croye que pour le présent il desire le retour de sa dicte fille en France. Et quant à la duchesse d'Angoulesme, il est facile de la ranger aux desseingz du Roy, son grand aage commençant à luy esbranler le jugement.*

Finalement, retournant le Roy à parler dudict prince, il me raconta que depuis peu de jours l'on avoit amené en cette ville sept prisonniers, tous huguenots, chargez de la consjuration descouverte il y a deux mois au pays de Poittou, desquelz les deux ont desjà confessé d'avoir eu de l'intelligence avecq ledict prince. De quoy comme je me voulois servir pour monstrer qu'il y avoit tant moins d'apparence de soubconner que ledict prince eust des pratiques en Espaigne, et que s'il debvoit arriver du trouble en son royaume ce seroit plustost par les huguenots que par autres, il repartit qu'il se tenoit fort asseuré du costé des huguenots, et qu'ainsy qu'ilz luy ont tousiours esté très-loyaux, ilz le seroient de mesme à son daulphin, qu'il me monstroit à la main, mais que si les Espagnols entretenoient ledict prince, il n'auroit de quoy les tenir pour amys de son repos. Et, après que je l'eusse prié de se despouiller de telles empressions et particulièrement de faire estat que V. A. continuera tousiours à luy faire paroistre combien elle desire de le veoir content à l'endroict dudict prince, il me respondit, pour fin de l'audience, que, si bientost ledict prince luy vouloit demander pardon, il le luy accorderoit, pour le respect de V. A., aux conditions susdictes et non autrement, protestant que telle estoit sa dernière résolution.

J'ay depuis ladicte audience veu le S^{r} de Villeroy, lequel, informé de ce qui s'y estoit passé, me dit que je debvois prudemment supporter les humeurs à moy cognues du Roy son maistre, qui ne pouvoit digérer ny dissimuler le desplaisir infiny qu'il a de l'opiniastreté dudict prince, et que pour toutes les responses et reparties un peu brusques qu'il m'avoit faites il ne falloit pas délaisser les bons offices commencez pour la réconciliation dudict prince, y adjoustant que je pouvois desjà avoir remarqué et trouvé par expérience que *le Roy*

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est bien prompt de paroles et lent d'effectz, et qu'il nous failloit regarder en paix, à quoy il tiendroit tousiours la bonne main, me sommant de faire de mesme. Il me confessa aussy ne sçavoir que *j'eusse* faict aulcune promesse *n'y engagé ma parolle touchant ledict poinct de faire sortir ledict prince hors des pays de V. A., mais qu'il croyoit qu'icelle V. A. seroit plus aise de l'en veoir dehors que dedans, et qu'enfin elle se résouldra de le faire renvoyer courtoisement à Couloigne, d'où il est venu; puis mesmement que le S^r de Vendegies a déclairé audict Marquiz qu'il espéroit que V. A. donneroit consentement audict S^r roy, au regard dudict poinct,* mais qu'il auroit de la difficulté en l'autre concernant la rétention de ladicte princesse; au reste, il me semble que l'on *attendra icy nouvelle d'Espagne, et que cela peult servir à V. A. pour tenir l'affaire en surcéance si elle trouve bon estre.*

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

10 février 1610.

Monseigneur,

Adverty que je fuz hier par un gentilhomme du connestable de France qu'il desiroit me venir veoir avecq la duchesse d'Angoulême, je me rendiz peu d'heures après chez luy pour les soulager d'incommodité, selon le respect que méritent leurs qualitez et aages. Le propos y fut commencé par la recognoissance que feit ladicte duchesse en termes bien amples d'estre très-estroitement obligée à V. A. et à la sérénissime infante des honneurs et bons accueils dont il leur plaist de favoriser la princesse de Condé, qu'elle desiroit tenir pour sa fille propre, comme l'ayant eslevée par la permission dudict connestable, son père, et luy tenir lieu de mère, ainsy qu'elle feroit encore à toutes occasions, me priant d'asseurer V. A. et la sérénissime infante qu'il n'y a chose qu'elle ne face très-volontiers pour s'employer très-humblement à leur service, et qu'elle estime tant leur dict bienfait que, si ce n'estoit sa grande vieillesse, elle entreprendroit le voyage de Bruxelles pour leur en aller baiser les mains, dont elle disoit ne quitter pas encore du tout le dessein. Le connestable usa pareillement de toutes sortes de remerciemens, submissions et offres de son service, ne tesmoignant pas seulement par ses paroles, mais encore par ses gestes et par sa face, d'y estre porté d'une singulière cordialité. Puiz ilz se meirent à regretter l'infortuné mariage de ladicte jeune princesse, la qualifians un enffant, et protestèrent d'y avoir presté leur consentement à contrecœur, pour ne désobéyr à la volonté du roy très-chrestien, avecq déclaration que feit ledict connestable qu'il eust beaucoup mieulx aymé donner sa fille à quelque honneste gentilhomme de deux mille escuz de

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rente, qu'au prince de Condé, parce qu'estant assez informé de ses humeurs et conditions, il ne s'en promettoit pas de contentement, sans toutes fois avoir jamais pensé qu'il se fust jecté aux extrémitez où il se voit plongé à présent, ny qu'il eust tenu telle indiscrétion et rudesse à sa femme comme il fait de plus en plus, en quoy disant (*sic*) par ledict connestable, les larmes lui vindrent aux yeux. Et, bien qu'ayant le courage assez attendry, il se retint de spécifier les mauvais traittements que reçoit ladicte princesse, dont luy et ladicte duchesse croyoient que j'eusse jà les nouvelles particulières. Ils ne sceurent toutes fois me receler ce qu'ilz disoient avoir apprins par lettres bien fraisches, que ladicte princesse est rabrouée par ledict prince son mary de ce qu'elle ne caresse pas assez le marquis de Spinola, et que puis peu de jours en ça un sien gentilhomme nommé Rochefort, entrant en la chambre de ladicte princesse, où estoit aussy celle d'Orange, tira en leur présence et à leur grand effroy de coups de pistolets dont il va garny en ses poches, et dit que c'estoit pour quiconque vouloit du mal au prince son maistre. Ils me dirent ensuyte qu'à ce qu'ilz avoient entendu, il y restoit peu d'espérance que ledict prince se voulust recognoistre pour demander pardon et s'en retourner en France, et que la plus grande crainte qu'ils avoient, c'estoit que partant de Bruxelles il ne contraignist ladicte princesse de vagabonder misérablement parmy le monde avecq luy. Pour à quoi obvier, ilz me requirent tous deux fort instamment et d'une façon pitoyable de supplier V. A. et la sérénissime infante d'avoir compassion d'eulx et de ladicte princesse, et de la recevoir bénignement lorsqu'elle se viendra jecter à leurs pieds pour n'estre abandonnée à tel malheur, disans qu'ilz seroient très-contens qu'elle demeurast au service de la sérénissime infante entre les moindres de sa cour, et mesmes ledict connestable qu'il aymeroit beaucoup mieulx d'ouyr les nouvelles de sa mort que d'entendre qu'elle fust emmenée en autres pays estrangers par ledict prince.

Mes responses à ces discours furent consolations en la meilleure forme que je puz adviser, avecq affirmation que V. A. et la sérénissime infante sont du tout disposées à gratifier et faire plaisir tant à ladicte duchesse et audict connestable qu'à ladicte princesse, l'ayant prinse en affection pour ses qualitez, vertuz et bonnes grâces, et qu'elles feront tousiours très-volontiers en son endroict ce que la raison et la réputation leur permettront de faire, mais qu'il failloit considérer que par les lois divines et humaines les femmes sont subjectes aux commandemens de leurs marys, et d'estre compagnes de leurs fortunes et adversitez, s'il n'y a raisons fort urgentes pour les en excuser, dont je disois qu'au cas présent ce n'estoit à faire à V. A.

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de prendre cognoissance ny si ladicte princesse vouloit délaisser son mary ou point.

Sur quoy ilz repartirent d'estre fort asseurez que, s'il plaist à V. A. se laisser informer des rudesses, mauvais traittemens et autres causes de grand poids, qui les meuvent à desirer que ladicte princesse soit retenue par delà, elle trouvera leur desir très-juste et très-légitime, et cognoistra aussy que ladicte princesse n'a rien plus en appréhension et horreur que d'estre forcée à s'en aller courir le monde avec son dict mary, me requérant fort chaudement de croyre que ce qu'ilz en disoient partoit du fonds de leurs cœurs et libres volontez, sans m'arrester aux bruits que ledict prince va semant, que ce ne sont que mines qu'ilz en font pour complaire au roy très-chrestien, ce qu'ilz affirmoient n'estre ainsy, mais que les effectz feront tousjours foy du contraire, voire mesme que la plus grande félicité qui leur pourroit maintenant arriver en ce monde, seroit de rencontrer la volonté de V. A. favorablement encline à prendre ladicte princesse en sa protection, sans la laisser tirer de là contre son gré. Je ne me vouluz pas enquérir plus avant des circonstances de leurs intentions, ny sur quel pied ilz vouloient laisser ladicte princesse en la cour de V. A., ains me contentay de leur dire que j'avois fort bien comprins tout ce qu'ilz m'avoient représenté, et que je ne fauldrois d'en donner advis particulier à V. A., avec souhait que Dieu leur feist la grâce de les rendre contens, et de conduire l'affaire du dict prince à telle fin que le roy très-chrétien et V. Altesse restassent satisfaicts de leurs bons desirs. Là-dessus ledict connestable, m'embrassant à diverses fois, me pria et repria, tant en la présence qu'en l'absence de ladicte duchesse, d'avoir le fait de ladicte princesse en recommandation, accompagnant toujours ses paroles de *tant de gravité et naïfveté, que je n'y peuz pours lors remarquer aulcun indice de pareure artificiele, quoyque j'y prinse regard de près; aussy m'a-il esté rapporté de bonne part que maistre Nicolas Lefebvre, personne digne de foy, cidevant précepteur dudict prince, a dit bien sçavoir que ledict connestable desire véritablement que ladicte princesse se sépare de son mary, mais que l'admiral de France, son frère, n'est pas de tel advis.*

J'ay eu des advertenses conformes de diverses parts, que le propre jour de ma dernière audience le roy très-chrestien assembla son conseil de guerre à l'Arsenal, demeure du duc de Sully, et y résolut de rompre avecq Sa Majesté catholicque et V. A. à la première opportunité, au cas que ledict prince ne s'en retourne en France; toutes fois je n'en assure rien. Et d'autant moins que, comme le jour d'hier, estant en discours avecq le S^r^ de Villeroy, je luy touchay un mot du bruit qui courroit de ladicte mauvaise résolution, dont je

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monstrois de faire peu de cas, il me respondit qu'il estoit bien vray que ledict jour après midy l'on avoit tenu le conseil de guerre audict lieu, mais que l'on n'y avoit fait mention quelconque, en bien ny en mal, dudict prince, et moins de rompre avecq nous, me disant que j'en pouvois estre à repos sur sa parole.

Une chose, à ce que j'ay pénétré, peult-on à présent tenir pour toute certaine à mon grand regret, que le roy de France, après longue délibération, a résolu, quoyque ci devant l'on en ait *doubté, d'assister les princes de Brandenbourg et de Neubourg contre S. M. impériale, et le fera bientost.* Quelques-ungz m'ont voulu faire à croire qu'il *fera marcher à enseignes desployées vers Clèves un ost de quatre mille François et de six mille Suysses fantassins avecq mil cinq cens chevaulx;* mais il m'est advis qu'il *n'y envoyera jamais telles trouppes, qui seroient de trop grand ombrage aux voisins, ains que son secours ira couvertement à divers temps sur le modelle de ceulx ci-devant envoyés aux Estats des Provinces-unies,* lesquelz y *contribueront aussy leurs moyens, si ce qu'en dit Artssen entre les siens mérite créance.* Veuille le bon Dieu que *ce ne soit un funeste* rejecton *de nostre guerre!*

The Archduke to Pecquius.

(MINUTE.) 13 février 1610.

Cher et féal, vous aurez entendu par nostre précédente que vous avons despêché par un exprès, la nuict passée, l'intention et résolution du prince de Condé de se retirer hors de noz pays de par-deçà, et la nostre de, à sa réquisition, recepvoir en nostre maison la princesse, sa femme. La présente vous advertira que le mesme prince nous est ce soir venu advertir qu'il estoit bien informé que nombre de François estoit arrivé en ceste ville à desseing de luy enlever par la force sa dicte femme, nous requérant qu'il nous pleust pourveoir à sa seureté, puisqu'il s'estait venu rendre à nostre protection et sauvegarde. Quoy considéré, et que d'ailleurs nous avons sceu que de faict l'on a veu fréquenter en l'hostel de Nassau (où il est logé) plusieurs François incognuz, armez de pistolés, il nous a semblé que ne pouvions excuser de, selon la demande dudict prince, envoyer audict hostel aulcuns soldats de nostre compagnie de garde avecq quelques bourgeois des ghuldes, faisans garde ordinaire en nostre palais, afin que ne luy arrivast aulcun mal, dont estant advertiz, les marquiz de Cœuvre et S^{r} de Berny nous sont à l'instant venuz trouver, se plaignans desdictes gardes comme si elles y fussent envoyées pour tenir comme prisonnière ladicte princesse, et voire

soubçonnans que l'on la vouloit envoyer en Espagne, prins occasion du courrier nouvellement envenu. Et, encore que nous avons procuré de les en désabuser, leur disans ce qu'en est à la vérité, et que nous pensions de l'accommoder demain en nostredicte maison (ainsy que, Dieu aydant, nous sommes résouluz de faire), si est-ce que nous avons voulu que fussiez adverty de tout ce que dessus par le même, afin qu'en donniez incontinent compte à ceulx des ministres du roy très-chrestien que trouverez à propos, pour les prévenir de la vérité de cest accident contre les advertissemens à contraires qu'en pourroient donner lesdicts ambassadeurs.

Praets, Secretary of State, to Pecquius.

(MINUTE.) 16 février 1610.

Monsieur, par la pénultième de Son Altèze, du XIII^e^ de ce mois, aurez-vous entendu comme elle auroit esté occasionnée d'envoyer quelques soldatz de la compagnie de garde, avecq aulcuns bourgeois des ghuldes, à l'hôtel de Nassau, sur l'advertissement que luy avoit donné M. le prince de Condé d'une partie de François dressée pour voler et emmener en France Madame la Princesse, sa femme, lequel auroit du depuis tellement esté circonstanciée, mesmes par tesmoings oculaires, que raisonnablement Son Altèze auroit esté menée d'en soupçonner et voire d'en croire quelque chose, et dont vous aurez, suivant son ordre, donné compte à ceulx des ministres du roy très-chrestien qu'aurez trouvé convenir, et procuré de les prévenir de la vérité du faict contre les jugemens et discours contraires que vraysemblablement luy auront envoyés MM. les marquiz de Cœuvre et S^r^ de Berny, parce qu'ilz n'ont pas trouvé bon que ladicte dame entrast en cour après luy avoir esté donnée garde audict hostel de Nassau, l'interprétans sinistrement et comme si cela luy tournast à déshonneur, et fut une espèce de violence et de prison, ainsy qu'a dit ledict S^r^ marquiz à M. le baron de Havesquerque, qui le luy a débattu par des solides raisons, et monstré que l'on ne luy a miz garde pour la prendre ny pour s'asseurer de sa personne, mais pour asseurer sa personne, et ainsi fut la garde commise à M. le prince d'Orenges, pour avecq icelle asseurer sa maison, comme luy sembleroit mieulx convenir, auquel effect fut ordonné aux mesmes gardes de faire ce qu'icelluy prince leur commanderoit, de façon que cela ne pouvoit aulcunement estre cause pour penser que l'on prétendoit de faire quelque force à ladicte dame princesse, puisqu'il estoit certain que pour cela n'estoit requise plus de garde que celle que

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ledict S^r^ prince, son mary, luy eust voulu faire. Concluant ainsi ledict S^r^ baron de Havesquerque, que le plus acerté estoit que ladicte dame princesse entrast au palais tant pour le danger qu'elle craindoit dudict S^r^ prince, son mary, que pour n'y aller rien de son honneur, se trouvant les affaires aux termes où ilz estoient et son innocence tant cogneue comme elle est, oultre ce que noz princes sont tout amateurs de l'honnesteté, de la vertu, que la réception seule en leur maison justiffie la personne qui y entre et en oste soupçons contraires; vray est que les choses estans passées en la manière que dessus et s'estre sceu publiquement (ainsy que l'on sçavoit) que ladicte princesse debvoit venir au palais le mesme jour, cela fut esté différé, l'on auroit donné plus d'occasion à chascun de penser que Leurs Altèzes ne l'eussent voulu recepvoir pour quelque soupçon qu'elles pourroient avoir eu d'elle, par où son honneur auroit esté beaucoup plus intéressé. De tout quoy Son Altèze veult qu'informiez bien par le menu M. le connestable et M^me^ la duchesse d'Angoulesme, ensemble ceulx que jugerez convenir.[1]

Pecquius to the Archduke.

18 février 1610.

. . . . Là-dessus voicy arriver un autre courrier avec lettres de Vostre Altèze du 13, lesquelles venues, je m'en allay incontinent trover ledict S^r^ de Villeroy avant-hier, sur les huit heures du soir, et après luy avoir fait part du contenu èsdictes lettres du 12, je luy parlay conséquemment de ces dernières, le priant de donner du tout advis au Roy, qui estoit party sur les trois heures vers S^t^-Germain-en-Laye.

Pour response il me dit que le S^r^ de Vendegies avoit déclaré audict marquis de Cœuvre de par Vostre Altèze les mesmes choses que je venois de luy dire touchant l'intention dudict prince de se retirer des Pays-Bas, et y laisser la princesse, sa femme, mais que je ne disois pas qu'il s'en alloit à Milan. Et sur mon affirmation que je n'en sçavois rien, ny pareillement ledict don Innigo, à ce que j'avois entendu de luy, ledict Villeroy repartit que, si bien Vostre Altèze ne faisoit point d'estat de se servir dudict prince, les Espagnols ne laissoient pourtant d'en avoir grande envie, selon les advis que le Roy son maistre en avoit tant d'Espaigne que d'ailleurs, et se manifesteroit par ladicte retraite à Milan. Ce qu'il dit d'une façon

[1] In the original of this minute there are various corrections, suggested by a note in Spanish in the handwriting of the Archduke Albert.

moins doulce que sa coustume, sans faire aucun semblant que le Roy sceust gré à Vostre Altèze d'avoir conduit les affaires aux points par moy représentez, dont je monstrois de m'esmerveiller, veu que ledict sieur roy trouveroit accomply tout ce qu'il avoit desiré de Vostre Altèze, et que les effectz rendoient ample preuve de ce que j'avois tousiours dict de la bonne et sincère volonté d'icelle en son endroict; joint mesmement que le Roy m'avoit cy-devant déclaré que quand ledict prince seroit hors des pays de Vostre Altèze, elle en seroit deschargée, et s'il se retiroit en quelque lieu subject au roi d'Espaigne, l'on en parleroit lors à luy. A propos de quoy, estant ledict de Villeroy par moy enquis si l'ambassadeur du Roy son maistre avoit traitté de cette matière en Espaigne, et quelle response il y avoit eue, me respondit que l'on en avoit pas encore de nouvelles, et puis il se meit à me raconter que le maistre d'hostel dudict ambassadeur, s'acheminant puis naguierres d'Espaignes vers France par la poste, avecq une despesche de son maistre audit S^r^ roy très-chrestien, avoit esté contraint par quelques officiers espagnols de rebrousser chemin sept postes en arrière, soubs ombre de la recherche que l'on disoit faire d'un François qui avoit desbauché une fille, dont enfin ledict maistre d'hostel fut renvoyé comme innocent, après qu'il fut devancé de deux jours par ledict courrier Rivas, la farce n'ayant, au dire dudict de Villeroy, esté jouée qu'afin de gaigner cet avantage du temps, dont il protestoit que l'on se ressentiroit en temps et lieu. Je luy dis que c'estoit chose particulière à moy incognue, et qui concernoit l'ambassade d'Espaigne, dont partant je ne voulois m'entremettre, mais que c'eust esté un estrange attentat de vouloir enlever par force ladicte princesse à la veue de la cour de Vostre Altèze pour la mener en France. A quoy ayant replicqué que la façon de procéder dudict marquis de Cœuvre avoit bien tesmoigné qu'il n'estoit pas venu à Bruxelles à tel dessein, il protesta que ce n'estoient qu'inventions mises en avant par ledict prince ou ses gens pour tascher de rendre le Roy odieux par delà, et, comme j'en reparty de n'avoir apprins que l'on en voulust charger ledict marquiz et que, si quelques autres avoient proposé de l'entreprendre, je m'asseurois trop que ce n'estoit pas de l'advis, ny du sceu de luy (de Villeroy), il me dit que, si Vostre Altèze suppliée d'envoyer quelques-uns de ses gardes pour la seureté dudict prince et de ladicte princesse, les avoit en ce gratifié, elle avoit fait en bon prince, et qu'au resto ladicte princesse seroit bien heureuse d'estre soubs la protection de la grandeur et vertu de la sérénissime infante et d'avoir l'honneur de vivre en sa cour. Finalement il me promit de faire sçavoir le tout en diligence au Roy son maistre audict S^t^-

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Germain, et le lendemain, qui fut hier, il m'envoya dire qu'il desiroit me veoir peu après le disner, ce qui toutesfois, pour des empeschements à luy survenuz, a esté remis jusques à ce jourd'hui sur le soir.

Et en cette entreveue il m'a dict que le Roy croyt tout ce qui se peult croyre de la bonne intention de Vostre Altèze en ce qui s'est passé ès affaires dudict prince et de ladicte princesse, mais qu'il ne peult trouver bonne la façon dont l'on a usé pour les garantir du prétendu attentat que ledict prince disoit appréhender, à sçavoir que l'on eust fait tort à sa personne et enlevé violentement ladicte princesse. Crainte que ledict de Villeroy maintenoit avoir esté simulée tout à propos par ledict prince, pour diffamer le Roy, lequel il qualifioit si doulx et débonnaire de son naturel, que jamais il ne donnoit lieu à la rigueur que quand il estoit forcé, et bien qu'il ayt tousjours eu beaucoup d'ennemys, comme il a encore, si n'avoit-il oncques voulu consentir à aucune supercherie pour entreprendre sur leurs vies, quoyque bien souvent il en ayt esté sollicité comme ledict de Villeroy affirmoit d'en avoir particulière cognoissance. Et quant à l'enlèvement de la princesse, il disoit n'y avoir apparence d'en soubçonner le Roy, tant parce qu'il n'attenta onques rien de semblable, comme pour autant que c'eust esté offenser l'authorité de Vostre Altèze et luy donner juste occasion de ressentiment d'une violence qui eust esté faicte en la ville propre de sa résidence et à ses yeulx, laquelle aussy, à son dire, ne pouvoit aucunement réussir, non pas de jour, prenant regard aulx circonstances du lieu et du pouvoir que Vostre Altèze seule y a, ny pareillement de nuit, puisque ledict prince y pouvoit aiséement pourveoir, en faisant coucher ladicte princesse avecq luy. A quoy il adjousta en outre que Vostre Altèze avoit déjà résolu de recevoir ladicte princesse en sa cour, ce qu'elle eust peu faire à peu de bruict, sans envoyer à l'hostel d'Oranges tant de gens de ses gardes et mettre la ville en alarme, comme il disoit avoir esté fait, jusques à y avoir fait la patrouille et tiré quelque coup d'une pièce d'artillerie estant sur le rempart, plus ne moins que si la ville eust été pleine de François armez, ainsy que l'on y en faisoit courrir le bruit, au lieu que le lendemain matin l'on eut honte de n'en avoir peu trouver que dix-huit en tout. Lequel varcarme il imputoit principalement au marquis de Spinola, qui avoit voulu faire de l'homme de guerre, disant ledict de Villeroy ne pouvoir croyre que Vostre Altèze l'eust fait de son mouvement ny de l'advis de ceulx de son conseil, pour avoir esté une procédure scandaleuse, tant à l'honneur du Roy que de ladicte princesse, dont l'on s'eust bien pu abstenir. Il me parla

conséquemment du secrétaire du Sr de Berny, qui, estant venu audict hostel d'Oranges pour ramener sa maistresse chez elle, fut oultragé de coups d'espée par ledict prince, et eust esté pis traitté sans l'ayde que luy donnèrent aucuns bourgeois de la garde de sa cognoissance. Bref, il se plaignit qu'en toute cette action l'on avoit par trop secondé les desseins légers dudict prince, en donnant trop de créance à ses rapports.

A tous ces discours je respondiz en premier lieu d'estre bien aise du contentement qu'avoit le Roy de ce que je luy avois dict touchant la retraitte dudict prince hors des Pays-Bas, en laissant la princesse, sa femme, en la cour de Vostre Altèze, et qu'à mon advis ce contentement ne se debvoit offusquer de l'ombrage de quelques hommes de la garde de Vostre Altèze envoyez audict hostel d'Oranges; veu que, si les plaintes dudict prince se trouvoient sans fondement, à luy en seroit le blasme, l'honneur du Roy demeurant sans aucun esclandre ny intérest. Et, au cas qu'il y eust indices et advis suffisants pour fonder lesdictes plaintes, et que mesmement l'on eust veu hanter et s'assembler audict hostel plusieurs François incognuz armez de pistoletz, je représentois audict de Villeroy que les dangers imminens avoient besoin de remèdes prompts et soubdains, et que partant Vostre Altèze n'avoit peu s'excuser audict cas de la diligence dont elle a fait user. Je luy diz avecq ce que Vostre Altèze ne m'avoit pas mandé que le dict prince se fust plaint que l'on vouloit attentir à sa personne, tellement que de ce costé-là le Roy n'avoit subject de s'offenser. Et ledict de Villeroy répliqua d'avoir eu advis contraire de Bruxelles, et que mesmement l'on y disoit que le Sr de Warde, gouverneur de la Capelle, avoit eu part au dessein de cette entreprinse, dont il l'excusoit fort soigneusement, affirmant qu'il s'estoit rendu à Bruxelles pour traitter de quelques affaires particulières avec le Sr de Barbanson. Je repartiz ne vouloir accuser ledict Sr de Warde ny autres dudict prétendu attentat, ny mesme prester l'oreille à beaucoup de discours qui s'en font en cette ville, mais que j'espérois que, le tout bien et meurement considéré, le Roy prendroit les actions et offices de Vostre Altèze de si bonne part, comme elle y avoit procédé à bonne intention. A quoy il monstroit de vouloir tenir la main, disant au reste que le temps enseignera ce que les Espagnols veuillent faire dudict prince, et que s'ilz l'accueillent et entretiennent, le roy très-chrestien sera constraint de pourveoir à ses affaires à quelques pris que ce soit, plus tost que de se laisser prévenir. Puis il me demanda si le prince estoit encore à Bruxelles, et, sur ma response que je n'en sçavois rien, il me dit que le Roy son maistre n'en avoit pas aussy

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de nouvelles, et que l'on disoit que Vostre Altèze fait tenir les passages fermez. De quoy je taschay de le désimprimer, comme croyant fermement qu'il n'en est rien. Il est grand bruict que le roy très-chrestien *attendoit lundy dernier audict S^t^-Germain les nouvelles de l'exécution et succès dudict attentat de l'enlèvement de la princesse, résolu de l'aller rencontrer au cas qu'elle luy eust esté ammenée, et qu'entendant la faillite il s'en troubla fort; l'on m'a aussy donné advis secret qu'un gentilhomme nommé de S^t^-George estant par delà a eu charge d'attenter à la vie du prince, et que le S^r^ de Migneul, gouverneur de Monstreuil, a dit que ledict de Warde, avecq un nommé Lopez, lieutenant de le compagnie du ducq de Vendome, ont esté les principaulx entrepreneurs de l'enlèvement, et qu'ilz en pourroient bien avoir à souffrir s'ilz estoient attrapez avec le capitaine des gardes de Vostre Altèze*, qu'il disoit y avoir trempé, le nommant le S^r^ de Barbizieux. . . . .

The Archduke to Pecquius.

(MINUTE.) 22 février 1610.

Cher et féal, vous serez adverty par ceste que ce matin nous sont arrivées voz deux dernières, du xiiij et xviij de ce mois, et sera au plus tost respondu aux poinctz d'icelles qui le requerront. Cependant nous avons bien voulu signifier que la princesse est entrée en nostre maison lundi, le 14^e^ de ce mois, ainsi qu'aurez entendu par noz dernières, et le prince, son mary, est party d'icy dez avant-hier soir ou de nuict busquer [1] sa fortune, sans que nous sçachions quelle route il aura prins, ce que vous pouvez et debvez dire à ceulx des ministres du roy très-chrestien qu'estimerez convenir. Et parce que ses ambassadeurs publient par icy que nous aurions promiz que, si la duchesse d'Angoulesme venoit en ceste ville à desseing d'y faire quelque séjour et nous demandoit ladicte princesse pour l'avoir près d'elle, nous la luy laissions suyvre, et qu'il y a de l'apparence qu'ilz doibvent aussi avoir escrit ainsi audict S^r^ roy, si vous en entendez quelque chose, vous debvez en désabuser ceux que conviendra, et que voire nul des deux ambassadeurs nous en a donné mot, ains est la vérité que, à la réquisition dudict prince, nous luy avons promis que nous la retiendrions près de nous jusques à ce que luy la nous demandera, ou bien jusques à ce que par sentence légittimement donnée il sera dit qu'ilz se peuvent divorcer; ce qu'adjoustons d'aultant que nous entendons qu'elle prétend se

[1] From the Spanish *buscar*, to seek.

séparer d'avec ledict prince. Et, au dehors de ces deux cas, vous pouvez dire et asseurer par delà que nous ne la laisserons jamais partir d'avecq nous, quand mesme le connestable ou ladicte duchesse nous en requérissent. APP. XIX.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

23 février 1610.

Monseigneur,

Fort à propos m'a V. A. fait advertir par lettres du secrétaire Prats du 16 de ce mois des rencontres qui se sont présentées par delà sur le point de loger la princesse de Condé en la cour; car, comme l'on en discouroit icy diversement, je différois d'en parler à la duchesse d'Angoulesme et au connestable de France, en attendant d'en estre esclercy par advis asseuré, lequel arrivé par lesdictes lettres, j'en ay aussytost donné part à ladicte duchesse, luy certifiant la bonne inclination de V. A. et de la sérénissime infante envers ladicte princesse, que je disois estre très-heureuse, en son malheur, d'estre tombée soubs la protection de telz princes, qui luy ont desjà fait, et feront encore à l'advenir, toute la faveur qu'elle pourroit desirer. Ladicte duchesse me respondit que les nouvelles de l'entrée de ladicte princesse en la cour de V. A. luy estoient les plus agréables qu'elle eust receues de longtemps, tenant à très-grand honneur que V. A. et la sérénissime infante avoient daigné de l'y recevoir, dont elle disoit leur avoir une infinité d'obligations, et qu'elle vivroit contente le reste de ses jours en la souvenance de cette félicité. Puis elle se meit à louer haultement la bonté, et les autres vertuz de la feue royne d'Espaigne, Élisabeth, toutes transmises en la personne de la sérénissime infante sa fille, et se ne peut saouller de tesmoigner l'aise qu'elle avoit d'entendre qu'icelle sérénissime infante luy veult du bien. Elle me déclara aussy d'avoir eu lettres de ladicte princesse depuis son entrée en la cour, par lesquelles et celles de la femme du sieur de Berny apparoissoit du contentement que ladicte princesse en a. Ce ne fut pas toutefois sans me dire doulcement qu'elle avoit eu un peu de desplaisir de l'alarme qui s'estoit donné à Bruxelles le jour de devant ladicte entrée, d'autant qu'on jugeoit par delà qu'il n'y en avoit pas eu de subject, ains que le prince de Condé l'avoit procuré pour déshonnorer le roy très-chrestien et la dicte princesse sa femme. Sur quoy je lui remontray qu'il estoit tout cognu et notoire par delà que V. A., ayant envoyé du soir quelques hommes de sa garde à l'hostel du prince d'Oranges, afin qu'ilz luy obéissent en ce qu'il leur commanderoit pour préserver son dict hostel et les personnes y logées de

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tout oultrage et violence, a voulu favoriser ladicte princesse, en la garantissant de tous dangers, jusques à ce qu'elle fust menée honorablement en sa cour en plein jour et à la veue d'un chacun, sans qu'elle ayt esté soupçonnée d'aucune sinistre intention, et moins que l'on ayt pensé d'envoyer la garde pour s'asseurer de sa personne. Ce que je priois ladicte duchesse de croyre comme chose certaine, et qu'autrement elle n'eust esté reçeue en cour, quoyque l'on veuille faire courrir des bruits par deçà qu'elle y a esté menée par une espèce de violence et de prison, ainsi que je disois que le marquis de Cœuvre et ledict de Berny l'avoient bien osé représenter à V. A. pour la destourner de sa bonne résolution en cet endroit, mais que leurs allégations avoient esté si minces et de si peu d'apparence qu'il n'y avoit eu pourquoy s'y arrester. Comme de vray *ceulx qui jugent icy sans passion de ladicte remonstrance des ambassadeurs françois n'y trouvent rien que de la vanité et* fadaise, n'ayant *servy qu'à démontrer qu'ilz sont marriz que ladicte princesse est en si ferme main que celle de V. A., et que par là* toute espérance leur est retranchée *de la faire enlever et mener en France. Et certes si le roy très-chrestien a desiré que ladicte princesse demeurast par delà, ou à Bréda, je vois bien qu'il n'a pas eu opinion qu'elle fust placée en si bon lieu qu'elle est.* Bref, ladicte duchesse, entendu mon discours, se rangea à mon advis, mesme pour très-bien sçavoir que ladicte princesse a fort desiré d'estre en ladicte cour à l'abry de tous dangers, tant du costé dudict prince que d'ailleurs. Et si protesta ladicte duchesse que, *si l'on a eu desseing d'enlever ladicte princesse de delà, l'on s'est bien gardé d'en parler ny audict connestable ny à elle, qui n'y eussent jamais consenty.* Elle me pria en après fort instamment d'intercéder envers V. A. pour trois choses : la première que ladicte princesse ne retournast jamais plus vers ledict prince, quelque instance qu'il en feist ; la seconde que *le marquiz de Spinola s'abstinst de visiter et entretenir ladicte princesse, comme n'estant bienséant, tant à cause de propos qu'elle disoit avoir esté tenuz par ledict prince touchant la fréquentation dudict marquiz que pour aultres respectz ;* et la troisième que V. A. accordast à ladicte princesse, pour son service et soulagement, sa damoiselle nommée de Chasteauverd et une fille de chambre nommée Philippote, qui se sont retirées chez le baron de Havesquerque, parce que ledict prince a empesché qu'elles n'entrassent à la cour à la suite de leur maîtresse, à dessein de la faire servir par la sœur de Kerreman, conseiller du prince d'Oranges, et par autres femmes, à elle incognues et désagréables. Affirmant que ladicte damoiselle de Chasteauverd et ladicte chambrière sont filles d'honneur, de fort bonne vie

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et conduite, nourries au service de ladicte princesse dez son enffance, laquelle à cette occasion les a pieça prinses en affection et confidence, et la serviront beaucoup mieulx que ne pourroient faire aucunes autres. Semblable tesmoignage de bonne nourriture, modestie et fidélité donna ladicte duchesse de la damoiselle de Sertaut, estant entrée en cour avecq ladicte princesse, et me pria de tenir la main qu'elle y peust demeurer avecq les deux autres. Je respondiz à ces trois desmandes que j'en donnerois adviz particulier à V. A. pour en sçavoir son intention, et laissay sur ce ladicte duchesse en plein contentement, et de mesme la comtesse d'Auvergne, fille aisnée dudict connestable, qui survint à la compagnie sur le point de mon départ, et tesmoigna de se conjouir de tout son cœur avecq ladicte princesse sa sœur des honneurs et bienfaits qu'elle reçoit par delà. Je veis peu après ledict connestable, et le trouvay si content et alaigre de la réception de sa fille en la maison propre de V. A. qu'il ne s'en peult rien dire davantage, comme il me le déclara avecq beaucoup de paroles, recognoissant l'obligation que luy et toute sa famille en auroient perpétuele à V. A. et à la sérénissime infante, qui faisoient plus d'honneur à sadicte fille qu'elle ne méritoit, *et que, si lesdicts ambassadeurs s'estoient advancez de dire qu'elle estoit menée comme en prison, il espéroit que V. A. passeroit ceste indiscrétion, et se contenteroit d'estre asseurée que ladicte duchesse, luy, son frère, et tous ses vrays parens et amys, l'entretiendroient aultrement, et que mesmement ilz se tiennent beaucoup plus heureux que si ladicte princesse estoit ramenée en France;* car encore (feit-il) qu'il n'y *eust rien de tant de choses que l'on dit du Roy, si sçay-je bien l'estat qu'il fault faire de la fame et opinion publique à l'endroit de personne de ma qualité.* Et en ce disant il protesta de *me parler cler, parce qu'il voyoit que j'y procédois franchement et avecq candeur, me priant d'y continuer et m'asseurer qu'il m'ouvroit son cœur, comme faisoit aussi la duchesse;* mais il me rafraischit conséquemment avec beaucoup d'ardeur les susdictes trois demandes qu'elle m'avoit faites, monstrant d'estre mal imprimé dudict *marquiz Spinola, qu'il appeloit à chasque fois le Genevois, par manière de desdaing, plus* (à ce qu'il m'en sembloit) *pour le commandement que ledict prince a faict à la princesse sa femme de le caresser, que* pour aultres considérations, et disant au reste beaucoup de bien desdictes trois femmes, qu'il prioit à V. A. de laisser à sadicte fille, comme à un enffant qui, battu de la fortune et esloigné de son père et de tous ses parens, mettroit en cela une grande partie de sa consolation, ne fust toutefois qu'il y eust quelque chose à dire sur lesdictes femmes ou aucune d'icelles, qu'il ne pensoit nullement; et, s'il en estoit

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informé il tascheroit tout le premier de les faire chastier selon leurs démérites.

L'un de ces jours passés, le baron de Boncœuil me vint dire que le roy très-chrestien luy avoit commandé de me faire sçavoir qu'il espéroit que je fusse bien aise d'avoir recognu la vanité des advis donnez à V. A. touchant le dessein que l'on disoit estre dressé d'attenter à la vie dudict prince et d'enlever ladicte princesse sa femme, qui n'avoit esté qu'une invention forgée par ledict prince, auquel il s'esmerveilloit que V. A. avoit voulu tant gratifier que d'en faire si grand fanfarre, jusques à avoir permis au comte d'Añover de courrir par la ville accompagné de soixante chevaulx ou environ, criant alarme. Et *me convia ledict de Bonœuil par amadouemens de demander audience au roy très-chrestien à la première occasion que j'en aurois*, m'affirmant que *je lui serois tousjours aussi bien venu qu'ambassadeur qui soit en cour, encore* qu'à ma dernière audience *il eust un peu parlé hors des dens en donnant vent à la cholère qui le transporte* quand il parle du faict dudict prince, *ce que je debvois dissimuler par prudence* et me réjouir, voire gloriffier, que *ledict sieur roy et ses principaulx ministres advouent maintenant que je ne luy ay rien dit qui ne se vériffie par les effectz.* Je respondiz que, s'il n'estoit rien dudict dessein, j'en estois vrayment bien aise, mais que je sçavois bien cependant que V. A. en avoit eu des indices véhémens, qui l'avoient obligé à faire ce qu'elle a fait, sans toutes fois que j'eusse ouy parler de ce qu'il me racontoit dudict comte d'Añover, mais que j'estois encore plus aise que mes propos se trouvoient véritables, et qu'au demeurant ce me seroit tousjours grand honneur d'avoir audience du Roy, que je ne fauldrois de luy faire demander à toutes occasions de subjetz qui le vallussent, comme du passé.

The Archdukes to Pecquius.

(MINUTE IN CYPHER.)

28 février 1610.

Cher et féal, le contenu de vostre dernière du xxiiij[e] de ce mois nous a au long adverty des discours passez entre la duchesse d'Angoulesme, le connestable de France et vous sur ce de l'entrée de la princesse de Condé en nostre maison, et si avons-nous volontiers entendu que l'un et l'aultre en ait la satisfaction et contentement que nous tesmoingne ladicte vostre. Ladicte princesse monstre aussy de l'avoir à tout ce qui se peult juger de sa contenance, et nous aurons soing, ainsy que jusques maintenant, de le luy prouver aultant que faire se pourra, et pour sa qualité et mérites, et pour le

respect desdicts connestable et duchesse, et, quant à l'allarme dont ladicte duchesse auroit monstré quelque resentiment, nous voulons croire que vostre repartie pertinente là-dessus l'en aura laissé appaisée.

Et respondans aux trois choses dont elle nous a faict réquérir, répétées aussy par ledict connestable, vous lui direz de nostre part (en leur donnant compte de ce que dessus) que, pour aultant que concerne la première, nous ne voyons comme nous puissions refuser de rendre au prince de Condé ladicte princesse sa femme, quand il la répéteroit, mais que les choses ne sont maintenant disposées que cela doibve arriver dans peu de temps, et que partant il n'y a pourquoy ilz s'en mectent maintenant en peine. Et pour la seconde, qu'ilz peuvent bien estre à repos que ny le marquiz Spinola ni aultre quelconque n'a ny accès ny hantise, ny aulcun moyen d'entretenir ladicte princesse, combien que nous tenons ledict marquiz pour tant vertueulx qu'il n'y aura eu que honneur en l'entretenance et conversation qu'il a eu avecq elle en compagnie des plus notables de nostre cour, pendant le séjour qu'elle a faict en l'hostel de Nassau, si qu'ilz peuvent bien tenir pour choses controuvées celles que d'icy l'on peult avoir escript au contraire de cela. Pour la troisième demande, nous sommes bien marriz que n'ayons moyen de leur complaire pour l'information qu'avons toute certaine que ladicte damoiselle Chasteauverd et la fille de chambre Philippotte ne sont si honorables comme ilz se persuadent, ains est bien avéré qu'elles sont gagnées de la part du roi très-chrestien, et tiennent correspondance avecq luy, et qu'elles furent de l'intelligence du desseing de l'enlèvement de ladicte princesse, signamment ladicte de Chasteauverd, qui le jour précédent, celluy destiné pour l'exploict, avoit envoyé à la maison de l'ambassadeur de France les habillements d'icelle princesse ; si que non-seulement il n'y a moyen de les rendre à ladicte princesse, mais nous desirons que ladicte duchesse ou connestable les face rappeler au plus tost en France, demeurant icy au service de ladicte princesse la damoiselle de Sertaut, qui est icy en mesme figure et opinion de modestie et fidélité en laquelle la tient ladicte duchesse, et si la fera-t-on accompagner encore de quelques aultres damoiselles vertueuses et nobles que l'on va cerchant.

Pecquius to the Secretary Praets.

1er mars 1610.

Monsieur, les deux ministres de cette cour, *le chancelier et le président Jeannin*, sont bien de différentes opinions, comme verrez par celle qui s'en va à Son Altèze, et la cause de cette diversité est à mon advis que le peu de contentement *du Roy très-chrestien procède*

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de ne pouvoir encore jouir de ses amours, ce que le premier desdicts ministres dissimule et l'aultre le blasme. Je suis bien desireux d'entendre quel a esté le départ du marquis de Cœuvre, et si ny luy ny le S^r^ de Berny n'auront fait aucun remerciement à Son Altèze des bons offices par elle renduz ès affaire du prince et de la princesse de Condé. Le roy très-chrestien, après avoir ouy au long le rapport dudit marquis, *a tenu un conseil d'état dont le résultat m'est encore incognu.* Bien me dit-on que *le Roy demeure chagrin et mal content dudict marquiz, ayant dit au ducq de Vendome que son oncle n'est qu'une beste, et si ce que* le nonce de Sa Saincteté a racconté est véritable, le Roy *a escrit au marquiz mesme qu'il estoit un sot,* nimirum quia *raptus Helenæ non successit.* Quelques-uns disent icy qu'il eust esté à propos de laisser mener la princesse hors de la ville, pour par après l'oster aux entrepreneurs, à leur confusion. Mais il me souvient d'une loy qui dict: 'Melius esse in tempore occurrere, quam post caussam vulneratam remedium quærere.' Au reste, il est certain que *ledict S^r^ roy ne sera jamais à repos s'il ne voit la dame* qui luy fait plus de mal que *ledict prince.* L'on luy apporta les jours passez lettres *interceptées du S^r^ de Beaumont, filz du premier président du parlement de Paris, escriptes audict prince, auquel l'on dit qu'il offroit son service. Il s'est absenté d'icy, et ledict premier président en est* en extrême transe.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

3 mars 1610.

Monseigneur,

Je fuz adverty hier matin de par le connestable de France qu'il vouloit me venir voir après le dîner. Et à l'instant survint le baron de Boncœuil, qui me dit d'avoir sceu du marquis de Cœuvre que le roy très-chrestien luy avoit commandé de se rendre aussy en mon logis, avecq ledict connestable et la duchesse d'Angoulesme, pour conférer ensemble de ce qui estoit du prince et de la princesse de Condé. De fait ilz se trouvèrent tous trois chez moy, trois heures après midy, et le marquis, commençant le propos à la semonce du connestable, me dit que, pour donner compte particulier de ce qui s'estoit passé à Bruxelles durant son ambassade, il jugeoit à propos que je sceusse que ledict connestable envoya avec luy audict Bruxelles un sien secrétaire nommé Girart, que le Roy avoit commandé à luy marquis de présenter à Vostre Altèze, pour délivrer à icelle les lettres dudict connestable et de ladicte duchesse, par lesquelles ilz la prioient de ne permettre que ladicte princesse fust emmenée en autres pays estrangers par ledict prince son mary, ains

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de la retirer de bonne heure de ses mains, et la tenir par delà soubz leur protection. De quoy ledict marquis disoit avoir parlé au baron de Havesquerque premier que de présenter ledict secrétaire à Vostre Altèze, de peur que, venant cette présentation et le subject d'icelle à la cognoissance dudict prince, il n'en print occasion de plus d'aigreur et rudesse contre ladicte princesse, et d'avoir proposé audict baron de la mettre auprès de la femme du S^r^ de Berny. Ce que n'ayant ledict baron gousté, ains respondu qu'il luy sembloit plus expédient de loger la princesse en quelque honnorable monastère, ne fust que Vostre Altèze et la sérénissime infante voulussent la recevoir en leur palais, ledict marquiz disoit avoir reparty qu'en France c'estoit quelque note d'infamie aux femmes d'estre encloistrées arrière de leurs marys, et que le logis dudict S^r^ de Berny seroit bien plus propre à ladicte retraitte. Depuis, estant ledict secrétaire présenté à Vostre Altèze et ayant ledict baron, par charge d'icelle, déclaré audict marquis qu'elle vouloit protéger ladicte princesse et pourveoir qu'aucun tort ne fust faict à sa vie ny à son honneur, ledict prince avoit demandé à la princesse laquelle chose de deux elle aymeroit mieulx, ou de s'en aller avecq luy suyvre sa fortune, ou bien d'estre mise auprès de la sérénissime infante en son palais. A quoy elle avoit respondu qu'il la surprenoit, et que, s'il avoit pensé à cette proposition à son loisir, il estoit raisonnable qu'elle eust aussy du temps pour songer, et en sçavoir l'advis de ses parens, ausquelz elle estoit contente d'en escrire au plustost. Mais, au lieu de luy accorder ce délay, ledict prince s'en estoit allé supplier Vostre Altèze de la recevoir en sondict palais, disant qu'il s'en iroit en aultre pays. Et suyvant ce, avoit ledict baron de Havesquerque tasché de faire trouver bonne, tant à ladicte princesse qu'audict marquis, la résolution de Vostre Altèze conforme au desir dudict prince. Mais ledict marquis avoit tousjours insisté au contraire, et quant à ladicte princesse, si elle avoit dict de s'y vouloir soubsmettre, ç'avoit esté à condition de n'estre jamais rendue audict prince. Là-dessus le marquis de Spinola s'en estoit venu tout eschauffé à l'hostel de Nassau, le sabmedy 13 du passé, donner advis audict prince qu'il y avoit nombre de François tous prestz à enlever ladicte princesse, de son consentement, et la mener en France, de quoy Vostre Altèze advertie tout aussytost par le dict prince, luy avoit envoyé sa garde; et vint-on dire audict marquis de Cœuvre, à table, qu'il y avoit à l'hostel de Nassau trois cens hommes en armes avecq 60 chevaulx que le prince avoit reproché à la princesse qu'elle estoit coulpable du dessein dudict enlèvement, menacé et fait battre le secrétaire dudict S^r^ de Berny, et que l'on s'en alloit cerchant les François par

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la ville; qui avoit meu ledict marquis et ledict de Berny de s'addresser à Vostre Altèze pour sçavoir la cause du vacarme; et leur estant respondu par Vostre Altèze qu'elle estoit informée dudict dessein, ilz l'avoient priée d'en faire chastier les entrepreneurs, si aucuns y en avoit, ou de s'en esclaircir, à quoy elle avoit reparty qu'il n'estoit jà besoin de leur en donner plus d'esclaircissement. Et le lendemain fut ladicte princesse menée au palais, costoyée de près par son ennemy Rochefort, mignon du prince, non sans beaucoup de comptes et bruits courrans par la ville à l'intérest de sa réputation, contre ce que Vostre Altèze avoit promis de prendre sa vie et son honneur soubs sa sauvegarde. De quoy ledict marquis de Cœuvre me dit que ladicte princesse avoit eu beaucoup de regret. Et, pour monstrer qu'elle n'avoit rien moins desiré que d'estre menée en cour de cette façon, il me donna à lire une lettre qu'elle luy avoit escrite sans date, contenant quelques plaintes en termes généraulx des peines, injures et oultrages qu'elle soustenoit, le priant de l'assister qu'elle ne fust mise au palais contre son gré et par violence. Laquelle lettre ladicte duchesse d'Angoulesme print en mains, comme si auparavant elle ne l'eust pas veue, et en advoua l'escriture et la signature, que je disois estre fort bien et artistement faites pour une jeune dame. Puis ladicte duchesse et ledict connestable, embouchez (comme il fait accroyre) par le Roy et ledict marquis, se plaignirent que l'on avoit fait entrer ladicte princesse au palais sur un tel vacarme préallable que l'on disoit touscher à son honneur.

Ma response à tout ce discours fut que ladicte duchesse et ledict connestable avoient peu voir par les effectz le beaucoup de bien que Vostre Altèze et la sérénissime infante vouloient à ladicte princesse, mesmes pour l'affection singulière et cordiale qu'elles ont à ladicte duchesse, et que par deux fois, en parlant à moy, tant devant qu'après ladicte entrée au palais, ilz avoient confessé de leur estre infiniement redevables des faveurs que ladicte princesse recevoit d'elles. Ce que m'estant par eux advoué, je disois qu'ilz n'auroient aucune raison de s'imaginer que Vostre Altèze eust jamais eu l'intention de faire ou souffrir estre faite chose qui eust peu mettre l'honneur de ladicte princesse en danger, la conservation duquel elle avoit au contraire en très-grande recommandation, et se fust aussy bien gardé avecq la sérénissime infante de donner place à ladicte princesse en leur maison propre, s'ilz eussent seulement doubté qu'il y eust tant fust peu à redire en son fait; le lustre de ladicte maison estoit tel et si révérable que la seule réception en icelle empesche et purge tout soubçon sinistre de ceulx et celles qui ont l'honneur d'y entrer. Je leur remontray conséquemment qu'ilz m'avoient fort

instamment requis de prier Vostre Altèze de leur part pour ladicte réception, et qu'après en avoir entendu les nouvelles, ilz m'avoient tesmoigné d'en estre très-joyeux, avecq beaucoup de remercieмens du bienfait signalé dont il avoit pleu à Vostre Altèze les gratifier en cest endroit, ce qu'ilz ne debvoient avoir fait s'ilz pensoient que ce fust aux despens de la bonne renommée de ladicte princesse. De sorte que je ne pouvois comprendre de quoy ilz vouloient maintenant tirer subject de plainte, ou d'aucun deschet de leur premier contentement; car quant à ce que ledict marquis de Cœuvre avoit raconté, que par ledict vacarme fait à l'hostel de Nassau et par toute la ville de Bruxelles ladicte princesse auroit esté diffamée d'avoir complotté sondict enlèvement, je disois que Vostre Altèze avoit envoyé gens de sa garde au prince d'Oranges, afin qu'il s'en servist comme il trouveroit estre besoin, pour préserver sa maison de violence, sans luy avoir dit, ny fait dire, ny à autres, que ladicte princesse eust aucun mauvais dessein, ce que je ne croyois aussy que ledict marquis de Cœuvre eust ouy de Vostre Altèze, de la sérénissime infante, ny d'aucun de leurs ministres ou officiers; et d'autant moins que je n'avois entendu que ledict prince eust rapporté rien de tel à Vostre Altèze, ains seulement qu'il y en avoit des François qui vouloient enlever ladicte princesse, sa femme, par force. En sommo je maintenois fort et ferme que tout ce que Vostre Altèze avoit fait en ce négoce avoit esté pour favoriser ladicte princesse et les siens, et que l'on auroit tort de le destourner à interprétation contraire. Considéré mesmes que l'innocence de ladicte princesse est notoire en ladicte ville de Bruxelles et ailleurs, et que l'on sçait aussy tout communément qu'elle n'a pas esté conduicte en cour pour crainte que l'on eust qu'elle feist un faux bond à son debvoir, mais bien de son bon gré et selon son desir, pour crainte qu'il ne luy mésadvinst, fust par manière dudict enlèvement, ou par mauvais traittement dudict prince son mary.

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Ledict marquis de Cœuvre répliqua qu'il y a bruict en ceste cour et par toute la France que ledict prince et le marquis de Spinola ont adverty Vostre Altèze que l'on vouloit enlever ladicte princesse par complot secret fait avecq elle, et qu'il n'y a point aussy d'apparence qu'ilz en eussent parlé autrement, à sçavoir que l'on desseignast d'attenter ledict enlèvement malgré ladicte princesse, pour estre trop certain que c'eust esté une entreprinse du tout téméraire, et qui n'eust peu aucunement réussir, usant ledict marquis de ces termes: cela seroit bon à dire à des enfans, et non à des personnes de bon jugement. Puis, prenant un plus hault ton, il me dit que Vostre Altèze avoit esté plus facile à adjouster foy audict prince

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qu'il n'en estoit besoin, et que tout ce que j'alléguois tendoit bien à couvrir et sauver l'honneur de ladicte princesse, mais qu'il falloit adviser qu'en ce disant je ne tombasse en aultre inconvénient, de rejecter la prétendue coulpe sur personne plus grande. Je respondiz que je ne rejectois la coulpe sur personne, et que je parlois en sorte que je n'en debvois craindre aucun inconvénient, voire que je maintiendrois toujours franchement devant un chacun que Vostre Altèze n'a rien fait au regard dudict prince ny de ladicte princesse qu'elle ne deust faire. Et, sur la réplique dudict marquis qu'il y alloit de l'honneur du roy très-chrestien, je dis que je ne maintenois pas ny ne voulois maintenir que le Roy eust donné charge d'enlever ladicte princesse, mais que Vostre Altèze, advertie qu'on la vouloit enlever, a esté justement meue d'y pourveoir. Le marquis persistant en son dire, imputa la cause dudict accident en partie à un advis qu'il disoit avoir esté donné mal à propos par don Innigo de Cardenas, mais principalement aux rapports, pratiques et instigation dudict marquis de Spinola, s'entendant fort estroitement avecq ledict prince, auquel il avoit donné de l'argent, et offert le chasteau d'Anvers ou de Gand pour sa retraite, y consentist Vostre Altèze au point, et estant mal satisfait au reste de ladicte princesse, pour le peu de faveur qu'elle luy a monstré, mesprisant ses courtoisies et les offres de ses services, dont, au dire dudict marquis de Cœuvre, il a esté fort libéral et libre envers ladicte princesse, jusques à luy avoir dict qu'il sçauroit bien la servir et s'en taire, et tascher de gaigner la damoiselle de ladicte princesse nommée du Chasteauverd, afin qu'elle le favorisast en ses amours, luy ayant, à ces fins, premièrement offert sa bourse, et par après dix mille escuz d'or, lesquelles offres estant par elle refusées, ledit marquis s'en seroit despité et auroit esté cause qu'elle a esté retirée de ladicte princesse, comme si elle eust trempé au dessein de son enlèvement. Sur quoy le connestable prend aussy occasion de descharger son cœur avec colère contre ledict marquis de Spinola, qu'il appeloit marchant, et monstroit par ces propos et gestes de l'avoir en grande hayne, comme faisoit aussy ladicte duchesse, quelque peine que je rendisse à leur donner meilleure impression de luy, affirmant qu'il a toujours eu réputation de seigneur fort sage et fort advisé, sans que je l'eusse jamais ouy noter d'aucunes folies d'amour.

De là l'on meit sur le tapis si ladicte princesse debvroit tousjours demeurer au palais de Vostre Altèze, où ledict marquis de Cœuvre disoit qu'elle estoit comme en prison, et au surplus logée peu convenablement à sa qualité de première princesse du sang de France, luy ayant premièrement esté donnée la chambre de Ma-

damoiselle d'Espinay, et depuis une autre à galetas, au plus hault estage, en compagnie d'une seule de ses femmes, qui ne l'a pas servie longtemps, les deux autres luy estans ostées, à sçavoir ladicte du Chasteauverd et la chambrière, avecq lesquelles elle avoit le plus de privauté, et qui luy rendoient le service le plus nécessaire. De quoy ledict connestab'e et ladicte duchesse feirent aussy de grandes doléances, et de ce qu'on avoit voulu donner à ladicte princesse des damoiselles à elle incognues, de Malines, et mesmes une niepce de Kerreman, qu'ils qualifioient Espagnol et grand favori dudict marquis de Spinola, comme faisoit de mesme ledict marquis de Cœuvre. Ilz me proposèrent ensuyte de tenir la main que Vostre Altèze eust pour aggréable de renvoyer ladicte princesse audict connestable son père, ou à la dicte duchesse, qui l'en supplieroit, et la sérénissime infante, par leurs lettres. Et, après que j'eu respondu que Vostre Altèze ne la pouvoit rendre à autre qu'audict prince ou celuy qu'il dénommeroit, pour l'avoir receue en son palais à cette condition, que je trouvois fort juste et raisonnable, ledict marquis de Cœuvre repartit que Vostre Altèze et la sérénissime infante avoient parlé de la rendre à ladicte duchesse, si elle les en venoit requérir. Je demanday si Vostre Altèze ou la sérénissime infante luy en avoient fait promesse, ce qu'il n'osa pas affirmer, ains seulement que la sérénissime infante, suppliée par ladicte princesse de ne la jamais remettre au pouvoir de son mary, ains plustost de son père, ou de ladicte duchesse, avoit respondu qu'elle la rendroit plustost à ladicte duchesse qu'à nul autre. Bien me dit-il que ledict baron de Havesquerque luy avoit déclaré que Vostre Altèze ne se hasteroit pas à recevoir ladicte princesse en son palais, mais qu'après l'y avoir receue elle ne la rendroit pas audict prince. Je respondiz à cela de n'en avoir rien entendu, mais bien sçavoir que Vostre Altèze avoit engagé sa parole de ne rendre ladicte princesse sans le consentement dudict prince, ne fust en cas de divorce. Et sur ce lesdits connestable et duchesse se prinrent à alléguer et exagérer plusieurs causes pour lesquelles ledict divorce se debvoit faire, du moins la séparation du lict, dont ilz disoient croyre que je sceusse une bonne partie, comme entre autres particularitez que ledict prince avoit menacé ladicte princesse de la jecter hors de la fenestre si elle ne caressoit ledict marquis de Spinola, *qu'il avoit dit beaucoup de villenies controuvées d'elle au S^r de Malembais, et des choses que l'on ne diroit pas d'une garce. . . .* Ausquelz propos je respondiz que, s'ilz pensoient avoir causes légitimes pour fonder le divorce ou la séparation du lict, Vostre Altèze ne les en empescheroit pas, et moins l'exécution de la

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sentence qui s'y pourroit rendre à leur advantage. Ilz répliquèrent que le procès ne se pourroit faire ailleurs qu'en France, et qu'à ces fins il fauldroit que ladicte princesse y fust renvoyée. De laquelle matière je diz n'avoir charge de traitter plus avant que je n'avois jà déclaré, mais qu'à mon advis le procès se pourroit aussy bien démener à Bruxelles ou ailleurs que par deçà, par-devant un juge qu'il plairoit à Sa Sainteté de déléguer, n'estant sa jurisdiction restreinte à aucun lieu, et comme ils persistoient au contraire, avec tant de chaleur que je voyois bien que c'estoit pour cela principalement qu'ilz m'estoient venuz trouver ainsy tous ensemble, avançans cette raison parmi les aultres qu'à leur advis et d'aultres qu'ilz en avoient ouy parler, dez que la femme demande le divorce, elle doibt estre exempte de l'authorité et pouvoir de son mary par manière de provision, je ne vouluz plus contester sur cet article, disant que j'en escrirois un mot à Vostre Altèze à la première commodité, et qu'au demeurant ilz se pouvoient tenir asseurez que ladicte princesse avoit receu jusques à présent au palais, et recepvroit encores tant qu'elle y seroit, tout le bon traittement qu'elle pourroit desirer, avecq la liberté convenable, sans que je me peusse persuader qu'elle eust de quoy se plaindre de son quartier, mais que l'on debvoit considérer qu'ès palais des grands princes il y a le plus souvent bien peu de place pour accommoder ceulx que l'on y loge par-dessus la famille ordinaire, et que mesmes l'expérience le monstroit au Louvre, en cette ville qui est la demeure du Roy. Je diz en outre audict connestable et à ladicte duchesse que Vostre Altèze ne m'avoit pas encore respondu sur le poinct desdictes deux femmes de ladicte princesse retirées chez ledict baron de Havesquerque, mais qu'en ayant nouvelles je leur en donnerois incontinent part. Ilz m'en prièrent fort instamment, comme si c'eust esté chose de fort grande importance, disans se confier que Vostre Altèze aura commisération de ladicte jeune princesse en ce regard, ainsy qu'à la vérité il semble qu'elle mérite cette grâce, si tant est qu'il n'y ayt cause plegnante et certaine pour laquelle lesdictes femmes seroient indignes de l'honneur de son service. Finalement ledict connestable, après m'avoir recommandé à part le fait et la consolation de ladicte princesse, et recognu qu'il se tenoit obligé à Vostre Altèze, et à la sérénissime infante pour tousiours, comme estoient aussy tous les siens, des faveurs qu'elles départent si largement à ladicte princesse, me dit qu'il vouloit sérieusement penser audict divorce, avecq bon conseil, et d'aultant plus qu'il avoit ferme créance pour plusieurs respectz que sa dicte fille n'a pas encore esté touchée par ledict prince. Bref quelque démonstration que ledict

connestable et ladicte duchesse ayent fait de n'avoir entier contentement de la forme de la procédure dont l'on a usé en ces affaires par delà si puis-je certifier Vostre Altesse que ç'a esté plus pour la présence dudict marquis qu'autrement, et qu'en leurs âmes ilz sont fort satisfaicts jusques ores, comme ilz doibvent. APP. XIX.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

10 mars 1610.

Monseigneur,

Plusieurs advis et rapports conformes venans de bons lieux rendent indubitable ce que j'ay escrit à Vostre Altèze par aucunes de mes précédentes, que le roy très-chrestien appreste en dilligence ses troupes à pied et à cheval pour aller (comme l'on publie) au secours des princes de Brandenbourg et de Neubourg, jusques au nombre de dix-huit mille hommes de pied, que François que Suysses, et trois mille chevaux, qui auront leur rendez-vous, à ce qu'il semble, à Montcornet, frontière de Champaigne. Je ne suis pas encore bien informé qui sera le général de cette armée, mais l'on tient pour certain que le ducq d'Espernon, comme colonnel général de l'infanterie françoise, le ducq de Rohan, chef des six mille Suysses qui doibvent marcher de bref vers S^t^-Jehan de Laurie, en Bourgogne, le duc de Nevers, général de la cavallerie, le ducq de Sully, général de l'artillerie, et les mareschaulx de Bouillon et de Laverdin s'y trouveront, voire mesme il se croit que le roy très-chrestien se rendra en personne à Châlon, en Champaigne, où il a fait mener d'icy vingt et une pièces d'artillerie, vingt mille bouletz et grande quantité de pouldre. Quelquesuns parlent de plus grand nombre de gens, mais ce que j'en escris me semble le plus asseuré, et, si les ordres et commandemens du Roy tiennent et sont bien exécutez, cette armée debvra estre preste pour le 15 du mois prochain. Quant au chemin qu'elle prendra pour entrer au pays de Juilliers, l'on en discourt ici diversement, les uns disans que ce sera par Lorraine, et les autres par vostre pays de Luxembourg, par lequel le Roy demanderoit passage à Vostre Altèze, et, au cas de refus, le prendroit par force ; il y a bien plus, que, selon les advis que j'ay receuz depuis quelques jours en ça, le dessein du roy très-chrestien est de faire une invasion hostile au pays de Vostre Altèze, et d'y surprendre quelques places sur la frontière s'il peult, comme estant résolu de rompre avecq Sa Majesté et Vostre Altèze pour le fait du prince de Condé, qui s'est embarqué secrètement (à ce que l'on dit icy) au port de Dunkerque, et doibt desjà estre arrivé en Espaigne.

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Les discours du chancelier, du président Jeannin et du sieur de Villeroy me font croyre que, si le Roy a tel dessein, c'est la passion *du desdaing et du despit qu'il a de la retraite dudict prince avecq la princesse, sa femme, qui l'y aura porté, se remarquant en luy une picqueure si véhémente depuis la faulte de l'entreprinse de Bruxelles que ceulx* qui ont accoustumé de lui corner la guerre aux oreilles n'ont peult-estre à ce coup rencontré guerres d'obstacle en ses humeurs à l'y disposer, qui seroit au grand regret de plusieurs aultres mieulx advisez et plus clervoyans, ne se pouvant augurer rien de bon d'une guerre que *l'on vouldroit faire maistre de telle cause;* car en tant que touche le ressentiment *le roy de France monstre d'avoir du tort qu'auroit esté faict à sa réputation par l'alarme qui se donna à Bruxelles à l'hostel d'Orenges, l'on n'en parle ici que comme d'un masque, le desseing de ladicte entreprinse estant tenu pour certain,* auquel quelques-uns me veuillent asseurer que *le S^r de Breaulx et la femme du S^r de Berny ont eu leur bonne part, et que le S^r de Warde a esté enchargé de mener ladicte princesse à la Capelle, si on la pouvoit enlever de Bruxelles.* J'ay aussy veu *une lettre dudict S^r de Berny, escrite à une sien amy par deçà,* par laquelle il donne assez à entendre *la vérité dudict desseing, bien qu'il proteste de n'y avoir trempé, faisant ladicte lettre mention d'un François nommé de Montcheaux, qui auroit esté de la menée, estant présentement à Bruxelles fort chéry du comte de Busquoy,* duquel *Montcheaux m'a aussy parlé la Rocquinière, François cognu à Vostre Altèze,* disant qu'icelluy *Montcheaux a esté banny de France à cause de quelques homicides, mais que le S^r de Traigny, gouverneur de la ville d'Amiens, a persuadé au roy de France de l'envoyer à Bruxelles pour ledict desseing, et que c'est un meschant homme dont l'on se doibt bien donner garde. . . .*

Pecquius to the Secretary Praets.

16 mars 1610.

Monsieur, le temps est venu, ce me semble, que nous pensions à nous et nous tenions bien sur noz gardes pour les causes contenues en celles que j'escris au maistre. Mais, en cas de rupture, je ne *voy pas que nous puissions éviter un chocq bien rude d'abordée, et pour ceste année présente, mètuendum est, inquam, ne sentiamus aculeum Gallorum, quo amisso, statim torpent;* sed spectare convenit ad consilium Scipionis, ut bellum in Africam transferatur. Et je diray franchement que j'ay horreur de penser à cette guerre pour les maulx infiniz qu'elle versera à pleins vaisseaux sur toute la chrestienté, et non pas que nous ayons beaucoup à craindre les forces françoises,

pour plusieurs considérations qui ne se peuvent fier au papier, mesmes *au regard des divisions que nous pouvons mettre en la France, et des entreprinses fort importantes dont l'on nous offre les moyens, comme entre aultres sur les villes de Marseille et de Lion.* . . .

La Rocquinière me raconte que *ledict S^r roy a dit au comte de Bruay que, si* le connestable de France *demandoit sa fille à Son Altèze, et qu'elle luy fust refusée, il assisteroit ledict connestable de ses forces pour la reprendre.* Cela s'accorde assez au propos que m'a tenu la duchesse de Longueville ; mais je ne sçay que penser comment *ledict comte de Bruay se rend si familier audict Rocquinière, jusques* à l'avoir mené avecq luy audict Fontainebleau, puisques luy-mesme m'a confessé de le *tenir pour suspect, ayant six cens escus de pension dudict S^r roy, qui ne se donnent* qu'à bonnes enseignes. Je seray bien aise d'entendre plus particulièrement en quelle réputation *ledict de Rocquinière est par delà.* . . .

The Connétable of France to the Archduke Albert.

18 mars 1610.

Sérénissime prince,

Je remercye très-humblement Vostre Altesse de l'honneur, faveur et support qu'elle a depparty à Madame la princesse de Condé, ma fille, et me sens tellement son redevable que je recercheray par tous moyens de rendre très-humble service à Vostre Altesse, laquelle sera asseurée de mon obéyssance à tous ses bons commandemens, et que je ne desire rien tant que de faire chose qui luy soit agréable. Et, d'aultant que Vostre Altesse n'ignore point le peu ou point d'amour que Monsieur le prince de Condé porte à madicte fille, quelles sont ses mœurs et ses depportemens envers elle, la sévérité qu'injustement il luy tient, que sa passion a esté si grande qu'il n'a poinct eu de respect à son honneur, qu'enfin on peult bien souhaitter, mais non pas se promettre, qu'il change, je supplie très-humblement Vostre Altesse de permettre à madicte fille qu'elle vienne me trouver pour consoler ma vieillesse, mesmes pour assister au couronnement de la Royne, auquel sont obligez d'assister tous les princes et princesses, seigneurs et officiers de ceste couronne, pour y servir Sa Majesté, laquelle sera très-ayse de veoir madicte fille, à cause qu'elle tiendra le premier rang en ceste action, qui sera fort célèbre. Je croys que Vostre Altesse aura esgard à ma juste supplication et qu'elle m'octroyera la grâce que je lui demande. Ayant commandé à Girard, mon secrétaire, porteur de la présente, de représenter à Vostre Altesse, si elle a agréable de luy donner audience, le surplus de mon intention. . . .

The Archdukes to Pecquius.

(MINUTE.) 19 mars 1610.

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Cher et féal, par votre dernière du xv^e^ de ce mois avons-nous au long entendu ce que jusques lors estoit venu à vostre cognoissance de l'appareil qui se faict en France et des desseingz du roy très-chrestien, et nous attendrons que nous teniez advertiz d'une entresuite, et avecq particularitez de tout ce qu'entendrez ultérieurement de l'un et de l'autre, mesmes par des courriers exprès, quand l'importance de cas le requerra, afin que de bonne heure nous puissions pourveoir à ce que, pour et selon les occurrences des affaires, nous trouverons convenir, et pour prévenir inconvéniens et surprinses. Nous avons volontiers entendu ce que nous escripvez du contentement qu'ont le connestable de France et la duchesse d'Angoulesme (à ce qu'avez pu tirer de leurs propres propos) de l'accœil et traictement qui se faict icy à la princesse de Condé; car, puisque l'on rend peine de luy faire le meilleur que l'on peult, il va bien qu'il soit recognen. *Mais, quant à la venue de ladicte duchesse pour demander et emmener ladicte princesse, nostre intention est que procuriez de l'en divertir, parce qu'elle seroit peine perdue, ainsi que nous avons mandé par une nostre du xxij^e^ du mois passé, comme seroit aussi d'envoyer par deçà deux damoiselles en la place de Chasteauverd et la Philippote,* d'aultant qu'en nostre palais ne s'admectent que des filles de chambre qui se cerchent et se trouveront à la satisfaction d'icelle princesse; *par dessus l'apparence qu'il y a que celles que l'on vouldra envoyer se lairroient icy facilement suborner et corrompre, si elles ne l'estoient desjà, à l'insceu et contre l'intention desdicts connestable et duchesse, avant partir de France. Par quoy sera bien qu'avecq terme courtois vous procuriez que l'envoy desdictes damoiselles soit excusé, car elles ne seroient receues, et de tant moins que depuis naguères l'on a intercepté une lettre de plusieurs que doibt avoir escript la Chasteauverd à ladicte princesse, par laquelle elle l'instruict d'escripre audict S^r^ roy qu'il fault qu'il treuve moyen de l'enlever d'icy, et qu'il n'y a aultre remède plus propre, ny pour luy ny pour elle, pour sortir d'icy, et qu'il y a de l'apparence qu'elle aura escript d'aultres semblables lettres à la mesme princesse, et elle audict roy.* Ce que vous debvez discrètement suggérer ausdicts connestable et duchesse, à ce qu'ilz soient informez des causes qu'il y a de soigner et veiller (comme l'on faict) pour leur fille. *Et, parce qu'elle soupçonne que l'on luy retient quelques lettres d'icelle duchesse, vous ferez debvoir d'en sçavoir combien elle luy en a escript depuis qu'elle est venue au palais, ou à la Sertault, avecq*

désignation des dates, afin qu'elle puisse sçavoir si et quelles luy manquent. Nous vous resouvenons derechef l'expédition du faict de la neutralité et députation des commissaires pour la conférence sur les différens de limites en nostre comté de Bourgoigne et pays de Luxembourg.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

19 mars 1610.

Monseigneur,

Par confrontation de divers advertissemens que j'ay recueilly de personnes confidentes pour m'informer du nombre de gens dont le roy très-chrestien veult dresser son armée qui doibt marcher vers nos lisières, j'en ay mis par escrit le discours ci-joint. Moyennant lequel j'espère avoir satisfaict pour le présent au commandement qu'il a pleu à Vostre Altèze me faire en cest endroit par ses lettres du 15 du courant, receues avant-hier. Et je ne manqueray de prendre encore langue de jour en jour sur ce qui se passera au dressement de ladicte armée, laquelle de vérité ne me semble pas seulement nous obliger à nous tenir en garde, mais aussy à nous pourveoir en diligence d'accroissement de noz forces; et, d'autant plus que j'ay apprins que *le gouverneur de Bourgogne, grand favorit du roy de France, je dis son grand escuyer*, qui a bonne part au secret de ses desseings, a dit *à un personnage d'authorité, il n'y a que trois jours, qu'il y aura de la guerre entre Espagne et la France.*

Les discours que le Roy tint au nonce de Sa Saincteté, en son audience d'avant-hier, fortifient aussy de beaucoup l'apparence de cette vérité: car il est ainsy que, luy ayant le nonce présenté un brevet de Sa Saincteté, pour l'exhorter à procurer quelque bon accommodement des affaires d'Allemagne, veu mesmes qu'il y alloit de la religion, il respondit que ce n'estoit pas une affaire de religion, puisque l'Empereur déclaroit vouloir rendre justice à chacun des prétendans à la succession du feu ducq de Clèves, pour la faire adjuger à celuy qui seroit trouvé y avoir le plus de droit, sans faire distinction des religions, mais qu'il s'y traittoit seulement de l'intérêt particulier de la maison d'Austriche, par menées et assistence de Sa Majesté catholique, dont il estoit suffisamment adverty, quoyque l'on taschât d'y apporter de la couverture et du desguisement; bref qu'il s'estoit résolu d'assister ses amys, comme il debvoit faire; qu'il estoit jà tard de parler d'accommodement; que les différens ne se pouvoient desmesler que par l'espée, et qu'il avoit bientost son armée preste, en laquelle il se trouveroit en personne, et s'en iroit droit à Juilliers. Le nonce dit, selon la requeste *que je lui en avois faicte devant qu'il s'en allast à l'audience, que par*

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aventure le chemin de l'armée seroit plus court à sçavoir vers les Pays-Bas, comme il y en avoit grand bruit, et sur la response froide du Roy que c'estoient des discours, comme le nonce eut dict qu'il demanderoit passage à Vostre Altèze par son pays de Luxembourg, et à son refus le prendroit par force, et mesmement qu'il *avoit l'œil sur Thionville*, le Roy répliqua qu'il n'avoit que faire de passer sur le pays de Vostre Altèze que bien peu sur quelques recoins, et qu'il ne luy demanderoit point de passage. Et quant *à Thionville*, après avoir demandé au nonce si l'on en parloit, qui respondit qu'ouy, il représenta l'importance de ladicte ville, et qu'il y auroit bien à faire à la prendre. De là il se meit sur des plaintes de Sa Majesté catholique, disant avoir remarqué dez longtemps, et de remarquer encore de plus en plus, la mauvaise volonté qu'elle luy porte, et dont rendoit preuve certaine la response rude et altière donnée puis naguierres par le duc de Lerma à son ambassadeur, sur la proposition par luy faite que sadicte Majesté ne retinst pas le prince de Condé, à sçavoir que de tous temps *les roys d'Espagne avoient accoustumé de recepvoir et protéger les opprimez*, que Sa Majesté continueroit *ceste louable coustume envers ledict prince, et dont elle avoit tant plus d'occasion* que ledict S^r^ roy avoit tousjours receu *et entretenu, comme il faisoit encore, les rebelles fugitifz d'Espagne, et qu'oultre ce il avoit fomenté et maintenu tant d'années la guerre d'Hollande, et usé d'une telle façon de procéder envers don Pedro de Toledo, marquiz de Villafranca, lors de son ambassade par deçà, que sadicte Majesté, ouye* sa relation, avoit déterminée de ne jamais plus *panser à traicter de semblable matière.* Le nonce repartit d'estre marri de la rudesse et aspreté de la response dudict ducq de Lerma, dont, à son advis, il eust bien peu s'excuser, mais que possible il s'estoit resouvenu des propros brusques tenuz à moy et autres par ledict S^r^ roy touchant les affaires dudict prince et de la princesse sa femme. Puis, sur la remonstrance du nonce qu'il debvoit du moins avoir tout contentement de Vostre Altèze, qui n'avoit obmis aucun bon office envers luy èsdictes affaires, il respondict avecq altération que *Vostre Altèze l'avoit très-maltraicté en touchant bien avant à son honneur, comme elle faisoit encores, mesmes en retenant ladicte princesse prisonnière en son palais, et privée du service de ses deux femmes qu'on lui avoit osté.* Sur quoy ayant le nonce répliqué que le palais de Vostre Altèze n'estoit pas une prison, ny ladicte princesse à tenir pour prisonnière, puisqu'elle y estoit de son gré et de ses parens, et se tenoit honorée et obligée des bons traictemens qu'elle y reçoit, le Roy dit brusquement qu'il estoit mal informé, d'autant que ladicte princesse proteste d'estre tenue par force audict

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palais, et qu'elle y est mal traittée. Le nonce remonstra au Roy que luy-mesme avoit desiré que ladicte princesse fust retenue à Bruxelles au deffault de la réconciliation dudict prince son mary, *ce que le Roy voulut dénier, et, sur la réplique du nonce qu'il me l'avoit ainsi déclaré, le Roy, divertissant ce propos, dit qu'il falloit que Vostre Altèze rendist ladicte princesse au connestable son père*, ce que le nonce maintenoit ne se pouvoir faire sans le consentement dudict prince, pour estre ladicte princesse soubmise à son pouvoir, et que mesme ledict connestable son père a fait instance qu'elle fust receue audict palais, et a du contentement qu'elle y est. Le Roy, après avoir dict que ladicte princesse a souffert tant de mauvais traittemens de son mary qu'il ne peult plus dire qu'elle soit soubs sa puissance, et que ledict connestable ne nous dict pas tout ce qu'il pense, ains se lamente fort de la détention de sadicte fille, demanda au nonce qui debvoit estre le juge de la matière de divorce, et si l'on en debvoit cognoistre en Flandres. Puis, entendue la response du nonce que ce debvroit estre l'église qui estoit en Flandres et partout, le Roy dit que *le connestable demanderoit sadicte fille à Vostre Altèze et qu'il l'assisteroit afin qu'elle lui fust rendue.* Et là-dessus, se reprennant, il dit que c'estoit assez parlé de ladicte princesse, attendu que ce n'estoit pas en cela que gisoit la principale difficulté, ains en la retraite dudict prince en Espaigne, duquel les Espagnolz se serviroient demain pour demain à brouiller, s'ilz pouvoient, la France, et faire une pauvre vefve de la Royne et un paulvre Daulphin. Le nonce respondit d'avoir souvent ouy de don Innigo de Cardenas et de moy que jamais Sa Majesté catholicque n'ayderoit le prince de Condé à débattre la couronne au Daulphin, et le Roy repartit que les Espagnolz ont honte de le confesser, mais qu'ilz ne seront pas honteux de le faire.

Et voylà le récit particulier des discours passez entre eulx, desquelz, joints à autres propos dudict S^r^ roy, *résulte sans doutte une véhémente conjecture qu'il a desseingz contre nous*, et j'en remarque encores une qui me semble de considération, à sçavoir qu'il est peu apparent que *les princes protestans de Allemaigne veuillent receyvoir en leur pays une si grosse et puissante armée que celle que ledict S^r^ roy prépare*, ayans mesmement les princes de Brandebourg et Neubourg dit puis naguerres au S^r^ de Vaubecourt (comme il a raconté à un sien amy) *qu'ilz se passeront bien des gens du Roy, et offert audict de Vaubecourt la charge de six mille hommes de pied et de mil cincq cens chevaulx d'aultres nations que François, que le Roy luy veult donner ;* davantage les advis que nous avons que *ledict roy a fait recognoistre de noz villes frontières servant de troisième conjecture du dessein de rupture.* Et, pour la quatriesme, je poise que les

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principaulx ministres dudict roy *se font maintenant tirer l'oreille et ne cherchent que des délaiz au faict du renouvellement de la neutralité de Bourgoigne, quelque presse importune et sans relâche que je continue à leur en donner, me fondant sur les promesses que le Roy m'en a faictes, et eulx de sa part. Le S^r de Villeroy et le président Jehannin* m'ont cy-devant donné à entendre qu'il tenoit au chancellier; *mais un aultre personnage fort familier à icelluy chancellier dit que le retardement ne vient pas de luy, ains d'ailleurs, et que le Roy est un fin* mattois, ce qui me mect *de tant plus en peine que le baron de Lux est arrivé avant-hier en ceste ville, qui empeschera ladicte neutralité par toutes sortes de dissuasions et aultres moyens à luy possibles.*

Pecquius to the Archduke.

27 mars 1610.

Monseigneur,

Mes advis précédens, touchant le nombre des gens de l'armée qui s'appreste par deçà, se vont confirmans, tant par nouveaux rapportz qui m'en viennent de jour à autre, que par les propos que le roy très-chrestien mesme en a tenu avant-hier à don Fernando Jiron, selon qu'il escrit particulièrement à V. Alt^e, ensemble, par ce que m'a dict le S^r de Villeroy ces jours passez, que le Roy arme puissamment, à l'advenant de la levée des forces impériales, qu'il croyt debuoir estre fort grande moyennant les deniers d'Espaigne. Depuis trois jours en çà, l'on a veu en cette ville bailler au rabais le fournissement du pain de munition, jusques à quarante mille livres par jour, et du foin et avoine pour le nombre de sept mille chevaux, à sçavoir tant de selle que d'artillerie et bagage, dont l'on avance aux pourvoyeurs cent mille livres, avecq promesse de plus dans peu de jours. L'on continue aussy d'envoyer de l'arsenal de cette ville multitude de munitions et armes à Châlon, mesmes, entre les autres, grande quantité de mousquetz de longueur fort extraordinaire, à usage (comme l'on me dict) d'offenser de loing ceux qui se présentent à la deffence d'une bresche, ou pour s'en servir parmi les chariotz. Les compagnies d'hommes d'armes du ducq de Mayenne et du grand escuyer du Roy se doibvent rendre, l'une à Montmiray et l'autre à Chastillon-sur-Seine, pour approcher Châlon, et le reste de la cavallerie a son département au long de la rivière de Meuse, avecq ordre de s'y acheminer au plus tost. Je parle de la cavallerie ordinaire entretenue, car d'extraordinaire il ne s'en lève pas encore, saulf que l'on commence à faire nouvelles compagnies d'homme- d'armes du prince de Conty et du ducq de Vendosme. Et il est vray que la leuée des recrues des gens de pied, pour les cinc

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régimens ordinaires et les trois extraordinaires mentionnez en l'escrit que j'ay envoyé avecq mes dernières, va un peu lentement, sans que le S^r de Vaubecour, ny autres ayans commissions de nouveaux régimens, ayent commencé aucunes levées, ny touché deniers pour ce faire, bien que le S^r de Vaubecour die d'auoir les roolles de ses gens tout pretz pour les assembler en peu de temps. J'ay tasché, par divers moyens, de sonder quel chemin doibt tenir lad. armée pour marcher vers Juilliers, et ce que j'en ay apprins est qu'elle prendra sa brisée droit par les pays de Liége et de Luxembourg, selon les ordres en donnez au ducq de Bouillon, qui a charge de pourveoir à ce passage, après l'avoir fait bien recognoistre par led. de Vaubecourt (*sic*), lequel dit hier à un capitaine de ma cognoissance que s'il y avoit apparence d'obstacle au passage, et que les pétards et les surprinses y manquassent, cinquante pièces de canon en feroient la raison. J'ay sceu d'abondant que depuis peu de jours en çà le Roy, se trouvant avecq plus^rs S^rs en son cabinet aux livres, y visita et examina les cartes desd^ts pays de Liége et de Luxembourg, et que l'on y jugea estre nécessaire de se saisir d'une place sur lad^te rivière de Meuse; mais je n'ay encore peu sçavoir quelle. Quant au général de l'armée, l'on n'en dict rien d'asseuré, d'autant que le Roy fait courrir le bruit de s'y vouloir trouver en personne. Bien dict-on que le prince d'Anhalt fait instance pour en avoir la charge, par ce mesme que les fraiz de lad. armée se prennent sur environ quattre millions de livres que le Roy luy debvroit pour services cy-devant faits en France, toutefois, je n'en sçay rien au vray. Mais, si lad. charge se donne aud. prince, il est trop certain que ny les ducqs de Nevers et d'Espernon, ny autres seigneurs françois de marque, ne vouldront marcher soubs tel général, et en ce cas il y auroit de l'apparence que le Roy se contenteroit d'envoyer en Allemagne ses six mille Suysses, avecq trois ou quatre mille hommes de pied françois et quelques mille et cinq cens chevaux, ainsy qu'aucuns en discourent par deçà; autres affirmant que Jacques Bongars, retourné puis naguierres en cette ville de sa légation d'Allemagne, et le s^r de Bordes, qui en est revenu depuis luy, ont rapporté au Roy que résoluement les princes protestans ne veuillent pas d'armée françoise en leur pays, et que le Roy s'est estrangement cabré à la réception de ces nouuelles, ce qui néantmoins me semble peu croyable, veu les grands appretz de lad. armée jà faits, dont il est apparent que le Roy se fust bien gardé, si au préalable il n'eust esté informé que lad. armée seroit la bien-venue ausd. princes. Mais, si ainsy est qu'ilz ne le veuillent pas, il en résultera une conséquence presque indubitable, que c'est aux pays de Vostre Altèze que s'adressent couvertement les desseins du Roy, et non ailleurs.

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De quoy j'ay aussy depuis mes dernières tiré quelques autres conjectures nouvelles des discours du chancelier, du président Jeannin et du S^r de Villeroy, en ce qu'ilz m'ont tous dict que le Roy continue à se tenir offensé de Vostre Altèze, à cause de l'affront qu'il prétend luy avoir esté fait par l'alarme donné à Bruxelles, suivy de l'emprisonnement (ainsy en parlent-ilz) et de la détention de la princesse de Condé par delà contre son gré. M'ayans dict davantage que si le connestable de France *demande ladicte princesse, sa fille, à Vostre Altèze* par une juste requeste, *et qu'il en soit refusé, le roy de France ne se pourra excuser de lui prester des forces pour favoriser sa prétension*, et que Vostre Altèze *auroit peu de raison de refuser ladicte princesse audict connestable, son père, au cas qu'il la luy demande, attandu qu'elle n'est plus soubz le pouvoir du prince, son mary, criminel de lèzemajesté, et comme tel tenu pour civilement mort*, du moins que si l'on fait commettre la cause de séparation au nonce résident par deçà, et qu'iceluy face donner assignation à ladicte princesse à comparoir par devant luy, il n'y aura moyen que Vostre Altèze empesche sa comparition en personne. Ausquelz propos il m'a esté aisé de donner solution sur le pied de mes reparties faites à semblables objections, comme il s'est veu par aucunes de mes lettres précédentes; mais pour tout cela lesdictz ministres n'ont laissé de me faire cognoistre que le Roy l'entend autrement, de sorte qu'il ne se fauldroit pas esmerveiller s'il vouloit poursuyvre les effectz de son intention par la voye des armes, se persuadant mesmement que Vostre Altèze, veue une puissante armée royale sur les frontières de ses pays, se résouldroit à lascher ladicte princesse plustost que de se porter à d'autres extrémités, comme ont bien osé dire aucuns bravaches de par deçà, dont néantmoins ilz perdront bientost l'opinion, ainsy que j'ay répondu à aucuns d'entre eulz, quand ilz se verront en teste une puissante armée contraire, au cas qu'il en faille venir là, estant desjà le bruict icy assez commun que Vostre Altèze lève de grandes trouppes nouvelles pour se mettre sur la deffensive, en attendant que Sa Majesté catholique entreprenne et exécute l'offensive en tous endroits, dont il ne se peult croyre combien plusieurs des plus judicieux et les clairvoyans de par deçà ont d'appréhension, signamment *prenantne esgard à la vraye cause de ces apparens remuemens, de laquelle l'on discourt icy avec beaucoup de liberté.* Lesdictz ministres de cette cour m'ont aussi bien dict ne pouvoir nier que Vostre Altèze n'ayt assez de subject d'armes, puisque le Roy, leur maistre, se dispose à l'approcher avecq tant de gens. Et sur ma remonstrance faite le 24 de ce mois audict président Jeannin qu'il

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m'avoit autrefois déclaré que nous ne tomberions pas en rupture, à son avis, pour ladicte guerre d'Allemagne, il me respondit que, si ladicte princesse estoit de retour en France, le Roy n'auroit plus d'occasion de mescontement de Vostre Altèze, et que par avanture cela produiroit prou de bons effectz. Je répliquay que je n'en pourrois espérer grand bien, si tant estoit que ledict sieur roy voulust rompre pour le regard dudict prince de Condé, parce qu'en tel cas il estoit à présumer que la rupture s'estendroit aussi à Vostre Altèze, nonobstant que ladicte princesse s'en fust retournée en France. Joint, disois-je, qu'à ouyr les discours desdicts chancellier et de Villeroy, si l'armée françoise s'en va en Allemagne et que la guerre s'y eschauffe contre l'Empereur et ceulx de son party, il est à craindre qu'elle n'enveloppe tous les princes voisins, et que mesmes nostre trefve d'Hollande n'en soit mise en grand bransle; à quoy ledict président se contint de repartir, advouant néantmoins que ladicte trefve courra grand hazard, arrivant que ladicte guerre d'Allemagne aille avant, parce que les Estats des Provinces-Unies estant encore en guerre, s'estoient obligez d'assister le prince de Brandenbourg pour le faire jouir de la succession de Juilliers, lorsqu'elle viendroit à luy escheoir. Et suyvant ce que l'on tient icy pour tout certain que lesdictz Estats ont desjà accordé et promis pour commencement de secours audict prince et à celuy de Neubourg deux cens mille escuz, comme l'on sçayt aussy que lesdicts Estats doibvent envoyer de bref audict sieur roy quattre à cinq cens matelotz pour s'en servir au fait de l'artillerie en sadicte armée.

Je suys adverty au reste de bon lieu *qu'il n'y a que peu de jours que le roy de France receut lettres de ladicte princesse, contenant plaincte de sadicte détention à Bruxelles, avecq prières instantes de considérer que c'est pour l'amour de luy qu'elle pâtit*, et qu'il ait à *adviser de trouver les moyens de la retirer au plus tost de là.* J'ay faict diligence pour *sçavoir la date desdictes lettres et la voye par laquelle le roy de France les a receues, mais je n'en ay encore rien peu pénétrer;* bien me dit-on que le Roy en faict grand estat *entre ses plus privez.* Il est aussy bien asseuré que ledict roy a *cuidé induire la royne de France à escrire à la sérénissime infante, afin qu'elle permeist à ladicte princesse de se trouver par deçà pour assister à son sacre et couronnement, mais que ladicte royne s'en est excusée en termes fort résouluz, pour deux causes* par elle alléguées, *l'une qu'elle ne vouloit pas se rendre sa macquerelle, et l'autre qu'il luy seroit mal séant de faire une requeste à ladicte royne (sic), dont il y a apparence qu'elle seroit esconduitte, raisons si pertinentes qu'elles ont faict aller*

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ladicte proposition au vent, estant aussy *ledict couronnement remiz jusqu'à l'automne prochain.* . Ledict président Jeannin, *sans faire mention dudict refus de ladicte Royne, m'a parlé dudict expédient d'évoquer ladicte princesse audict couronnement, mais avec ceste adjouste qu'il croyoit que Vostre Altèze ny ladicte infante n'en feroient rien*, en laquelle bonne créance je l'ay confirmé. . . .

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

2 avril 1610.

Monseigneur,

Force propos aspres et véhémens se passèrent hier en l'audience que don Innigo de Cardenas avoit trouvé bon de demander au roi très-chrestien, dont j'estime que Vostre Altèze sera informée par ses advis ; et partant je seray bref à escrire selon ma mémoire le plus remarquable de ce qu'il m'en a raconté. C'est que, sur sa remonstrance faite au Roy que c'estoit une nouveauté suspecte que d'apprester comme il faisoit une grosse et puissante armée pour l'envoyer sur les frontières du pays de Vostre Altèze, et qu'au cas de continuation de ce dessein Sa Majesté catholique, n'ayant qu'une sœur au monde, seroit justement conviée de pourveoir à la conservation d'icelle, comme l'ayant en singulière affection, ensemble Vostre Altèze son oncle, le Roy respondit qu'il estoit vray qu'il armoit, et que c'estoit pour assister ses amys, comme il avoit tousjours déclaré aux ambassadeurs de vouloir faire, et, sur la réplique dudict don Innigo, qu'il n'avoit point d'ennemys, ny subject pour lequel il deust faire une telle armée, le Roy dit brusquement que l'on sçavoit bien ce que l'archiducq Léopolde estoit venu faire à Juilliers, et à quoy visoient les moyens que sadicte Majesté fait fournir en faveur du party impérial. Sur quoy luy ayant ledict don Innigo représenté que ce n'estoit pas sadicte Majesté qui eust soubslevé ny voulust mener la guerre en Allemagne, le Roy respondit que c'estoit une mocquerie de dire telles choses. Ce qui porta ledict don Innigo à dire avec jurement que les ministres de son roy telz que luy n'avoient accoustumé de procéder et traitter que sérieusement et de vray, mais qu'il sembloit que d'une petite guerre il vouloit faire une grande, et se prendre à ceulx qui ne luy en donnoient occasion. Là-dessus, le Roy se meit à parler fort haultement et aigrement des affaires du prince et de la princesse de Condé, disant que sadicte Majesté le traittoit fort mal, et jurant que, si en cas pareil un prince des vassaulx d'icelle se fust venu retirer en France, il le luy eust renvoyé, mais que l'on en vouloit à ses enffans, et que ce n'estoit pas en cela seulement que paroissoit la mauvaise volonté

de sadicte Majesté envers luy, mais qu'elle s'estoit dez-piéça manifestée en une infinité d'occurrences passées, tant du fait du ducq de Biron, de la marquise de Verneuil, de Mérargue, de l'Hoste, secrétaire du S^r^ de Villeroy, qu'autres. Et quant à Vostre Altèze, il confessa que du commencement elle avoit fait quelque démonstration par paroles de luy vouloir donner contentement, mais que depuis elle s'estoit laissée aller à des effectz contraires, par commandemens venuz d'Espaigne. Ledict don Innigo, protestant que le Roy n'avoit raison de dire que l'on vouloit ou pensoit faire tort à ses enffans, maintint que, comme Vostre Altèze n'avoit obmis aucun bon office èsdictes affaires du prince et de la princesse de Condé, aussy sadicte Majesté ne faisoit en cet endroit ny ne feroit chose qu'elle ne deust faire, et qu'il n'y avoit aucune apparence de livrer au Roy ledict prince comme il prétendoit. Et le Roy, se mettant en fougue de plus en plus, dit qu'en termes d'amytié l'on ne debvoit refuser ladicte délessance, mais que les Espagnolz vouloient tout faire à la mode d'Espaigne, et luy à celle de France, et que la sienne estoit accompagnée de raison qui ne se trouvoit en l'autre. A quoy après que ledict don Innigo eut replicqué avecq assez de cholère, le Roy luy demanda enfin qu'estoit ce pourquoy il estoit venu luy parler. Et ayant ledict don Innigo répété en substance sa première proposition cy-dessus narrée, le Roy persistant en ses propos, que l'on manquoit du debvoir d'amytié et de bonne intelligence avec luy, meit fin à l'audience.

Le nonce de Sa Saincteté, que je viens de veoir, *trouve peu de goust èsdictz discours, comme desireux que les choses se passent par la voye doulce, s'il estoit possible, à quoy buttent aussy tous mes sauhaictz.* Et à cet effect, après avoir raconté audict nonce ce qu'il m'avoit communiqué à nostre dernière entrevue touchant la cause de séparation d'entre ledict prince et ladicte princesse, je l'ay prié de trouver bon que *sans attrendre sur ce response du Roy, considéré qu'il y a du danger au délay, j'en feisse ouverture aux ministres de par deçà.* A quoy il s'est accordé. Et je ne fauldray dez demain de commencer à mettre cette pratique en œuvre, avecq quelque peu d'espérance d'en tirer du fruit, puisque ledict nonce m'a asseuré d'avoir entendu hier au soir de fort bonne part que *le connestable s'est résoulu d'intenter le procès de ladicte séparation, ayant esté émeu par les propos que j'ai tenus sur ce subject à la duchesse d'Angoulesme.*

Au reste, le roy très-chrestien continüe encore à donner des commissions pour la levée de nouvelles gens de pied, pardessus les régimens dénommez en mes advis précédens, mais il n'en débourse point encore d'argent que j'aye peu sçavoir. Les Suysses sont

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partiz de leur pays et marchent, mais avecq peu de diligence, selon les nouvelles que le fils du colonel Galati en apporta hier au Roy. La levée bes Carabins s'avance, et le Roy a commandé que tous les mareschaulx de France, en nombre de sept, facent leurs compagnies d'hommes d'armes, qui pourront monter à cent chevaulx chacune, y comprins les archers. Les boulangers retenuz pour la provision du pain de ladicte armée sont partiz dez mardi dernier vers Châlon, Mézières et Metz, et croyt-on y avoir ordonnance que tous les chevaulx d'artillerie, jusques au nombre de quattre mille, soient menez en cette ville pour le 15 de ce mois, afin d'y estre marquez. Mais avecq tout cela il me semble, en confrontant diligemment tous les rapports que l'on me fait d'une continuèle entrefayte, que l'opinion la plus apparente est que l'armée ne se pourra rendre à Chalon qu'après la my-may prochainement venant. De quoy, entre plusieurs autres, m'a aussy voulu asseurer ledict nonce cejourd'huy, bien qu'il pourroit estre que le Roy envoyast quelques trouppes plus tost au secours des princes de Brandenbourg et de Neubourg, selon ce que j'en ay touché par mes dernières, et dont il est incessamment sollicité par le prince d'Anhalt, qui est toujours à ces oreilles.

C'est chose estrange et néantmoins tenu pour asseurée que *le ducq de Sully rend maintenant tous ses effortz pour destourner le roy de France de la guerre qu'il veult entreprendre, luy remonstrant de jour à aultre fort librement les grans inconvéniens apparens d'en debvoir naistre ; mais il n'est pas escouté, bien que l'on remarque de l'irrésolution du Roy en ses desseins.*

The Archdukes to Pecquius.

(MINUTE.) 4 avril 1610.

Cher et féal, ceste vous advertira de la réception de voz trois dernières du 30e et dernier du passé et premier du mois courant. Et d'aultant que nous avons entendu du secrétaire Pratz que noz trois lettres au ducq de Montmorency et duchesse d'Angoulesme qu'il vous avoit envoyé pour eulx et que le secrétaire d'icelluy ducq ne se monstre fort hasté de retourner en France pour les leur envoyer par luy, nostre intention est que, jectant au fœu les susdictes lettres, vous leur délivriez celles-cy joinctes, avecq une copie d'icelles pour vostre information, en leur représentant de nostre part que, sans la raison qu'ilz y entendront, nous eussions condescendu volontiers à leur desir en ce du renvoy de la princesse de Condé, mais que maintenant ilz peuvent bien comprendre cela ne se pouvoir faire, sinon au moyen d'une sentence de divorce légittimement donnée, et

que, s'ilz estiment que nous puissions faire avecq fruict quelques offices pour l'advancement de telle sentence, nous en advertissant, nous nous y employerons de fort bonne volonté, et à ce propos nous ne sçaurions sinon louer l'expédient conceu par le nonce de Sa Saincteté en France (et lequel il luy auroit jà suggéré par ses lettres), de réserver à soy la cause dudict divorce, pour en estre cogneu et décidé à Rome sur les informations qui s'en prendront tant en France qu'en ces Pays-Bas et ailleurs, et est partant nostre intention qu'y apportiez la chaleur possible. Cependant vous pouvez bien asseurer de nostre part lesdicts connestable et duchesse que nous ne forcerons jamais ladicte princesse à suyvre sondict mary contre la volonté d'elle. . . . .

The Archduke Albert to the Connétable of France.

(MINUTE.) 5 avril 1610.

Monsieur le ducq, vostre dernière que m'a délivrée vostre secrétaire m'a apporté beaucoup de contentement pour le tesmoignage qu'elle m'a donné, aussi bien que luy de bouche, de la satisfaction que vous avez de ma volonté en ce qui touche l'accueil et caresses qui se font en ceste maison à la princesse, vostre fille, et se continuera de faire tandiz qu'elle y sera, tant pour vostre respect que pour ses mérites propres. Au demeurant, quoyque, pour les causes que contient ladicte vostre et ce que m'a représenté vostre dict secrétaire, vous desirez que soit permiz à ladicte princesse de vous aller trouver, je m'asseure de vostre discrétion et bon jugement que ne laisserez de considérer que cela ne se peult faire, présupposé (comme il est vrai) que le prince de Condé nous l'a laissée enchargée, avecq réquisition et promesse nostre de ne la rendre à personne sans son consentement, ne soit toutesfois que, par sentence légitimement donnée, elle soit séparée d'avecq ledict prince, auquel cas nous ne ferons aulcune difficulté de vous gratifier en cest endroict, comme, cessant la susdicte, nous l'aurions faict volontiers dez la réception de ladicte vostre. Bien vous diray que je ne la forceray jamais de suivre ledict prince, son mary, contre la volonté d'elle.[1]

[1] This concluding sentence is followed by a note of interrogation in the handwriting of the Secretary Vendegies. In an autograph note the Archduke orders him to cancel the sentence, but to insert it in a separate letter to Pecquius, with instructions that it should be repeated *vivâ voce* to the Connétable—'*para que la diga de palabra.*'

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

7 avril 1610.

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. . . Les discours de neutralité meuèrent ledict S^r^ de Villeroy et moy à ceulx de la guerre, et à ce qui en avoit esté dict en la dernière audience à don Innigo de Cardenas, dont ledict de Villeroy me raconta l'histoire un peu différemment du récit que j'en avois auparavant ouy, disant que, sur la remonstrance dudict don Innigo du soubçon résultant de l'armée que le Roy vouloit faire marcher vers les frontières des Pays-Bas, trop grosse pour estre receue en Allemagne, et que Sa Majesté catholique ne laisseroit jamais la protection de la sérénissime infante, sa sœur unique, pour l'affection singulière qu'elle luy porte, le Roy respondit que ses amys pour lesquelz il armoit avoient besoin de grande assistance telle qu'il leur préparoit, et que sadicte Majesté catholique faisoit bien d'aymer la sérénissime infante, laquelle il aymoit aussy, mais qu'en Espaigne l'on ne debvoit pas tant aymer ses parens comme l'on faisoit. Sur quoy, ayant ledict don Innigo demandé quels parens, le Roy respondit en cholère le prince de Condé, lequel estant desbauché par les Espagnols, après le ducq de Biron, la marquise de Verneuil et tant d'autres, il ne restoit plus que de desbaucher son Daulphin et ses frères. Et comme ledict don Innigo eut répliqué que, si le Roy eust parlé à luy des affaires dudict prince, il eust trouvé moyen de les conduire à quelque bon chemin, le Roy lui dit qu'il en avoit fait parler à sadicte Majesté catholique, qui n'avoit encore daigné luy en donner response, mais le ducq de Lerma en avoit donné une très-indiscrète à son ambassadeur. Et sur la repartie dudict don Innigo qu'il n'estoit informé de ladicte response, le Roy dit que c'estoit une mocquerie de vouloir dissimuler telles choses. Et là-dessus s'en aigrirent les courages et les propos de plus en plus, tant qu'enfin, ayant ledict don Innigo demandé ce qu'il debvoit escrire à sadicte Majesté, son maistre, le Roy respondit: ce que vous vouldrez. Bref, au dire dudict de Villeroy, le Roy resta fort attéré et offensé de ladicte audience, et l'offense n'en est guierres moindre du costé dudict don Innigo, qui veult bien qu'on le sçache, à ce que j'entens de luy; mais je croy avecq ledict de Villeroy qu'à grand' peine auront-ilz entendu la moytié de ce qu'ilz ont dict l'un à l'autre, le Roy estant peu versé en la langue espagnole et don Innigo moins en la françoise.

Je remonstray en après quelques considérations audict de Villeroy, par lesquelles sadicte Majesté pouvoit estre meue à recevoir ledict prince de Condé en sa protection, et il respondit qu'il n'y avoit

raison qui peust excuser sadicte Majesté d'accueillir et entretenir ledict prince comme elle faisoit, ores qu'elle eust par adventure peu trouver quelque couleur de le tolérer seulement en son pays. Conséquemment il me déclara par exprès que le Roy, son maistre, tient l'accueil qui se fait audict prince pour l'une des plus grandes injures qu'on luy pourroit faire, et que pour ceste cause il est malaisé que les deux roys demeurent en paix, mesmes qu'il vault mieux prévenir les mauvais desseins de sadicte Majesté que de lui donner le loisir de les mettre à exécution à sa commodité, pour faire un jour disputer le royaume au Daulphin, ce que ledict de Villeroy me dit avecq démonstration de doléance que les affaires se disposoient ainsy à une guerre, laquelle à son advis seroit de longue haleine, et bien plus difficile à finir qu'à commencer, par ce mesmement que lesdits deux grands rois, ayant souvent mesuré leurs forces, n'ont accoustumé de guières gaigner l'un sur l'autre, ains après longues misères et afflictions ont tousjours rendu réciproquement par la paix ce qu'ils avoient occupé par les armes.

Je luy diz que, si le Roy, son maistre, venoit à rompre avecq sadicte Majesté, l'on pourroit préveoir qu'il romproit aussy avecq Vostre Altèze, mais que ce n'estoit pas à luy que j'en voulois demander des nouvelles. Et il respondit que je le pourrois sçavoir d'autres, et que le temps nous en rendroit sages. De là nous tombasmes sur le fait de la princesse de Condé, et de la requeste faite à Vostre Altèze par le connestable de France et la duchesse d'Angoulesmes, de la renvoyer par deçà, laquelle requeste je disois et maintenois par plusieurs moyens ne leur pouvoir ni debvoir estre enthérinée, et que le Roy très-chrestien n'auroit aucun subject de se resentir du refus que Vostre Altèze et la sérénissime infante en feirent, et moins d'entrer pour ce en guerre, comme il sembloit (à ouyr parler ladicte duchesse) qu'il en avoit la volonté. A quoy ledict de Villeroy respondit qu'il trouvoit mes raisons fort bonnes et pertinentes, confessant clèrement que Vostre Altèze se pouvoit honnestement excuser dudict renvoy, fors au cas de divorce entre lesdicts prince et princesse, dont il luy sembloit que le procès ne se pouvoit faire en Flandres. Et je luy diz qu'il se debvoit faire à Rome, en retenant par Sa Saincteté la cognoissance de la cause à soy, pour en décider sur les informations qui s'en prendroient, tant en France qu'en Flandres et ailleurs où le besoin seroit. Lequel expédient il trouva merveilleusement bon, saulf qu'il craignoit qu'il n'allast à la longue; mais, quoy qu'il en fust, il me dit que nous n'aurions pas la guerre pour la princesse, et que je m'en asseurasse, mais pour le prince, y adjoustant que possible la guerre d'Allemagne ne causeroit pas de

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rupture entre les deux roys et leurs adhérents, encore que le party de l'Empereur fust assisté du costé d'Espaigne, et celuy des princes de Brandenbourg et de Neubourg du costé de France, si ce n'estoit le fait dudict prince, qui seroit cause de tout le malheur panchant sur la chrestienté. Je repartyz que, si le Roy, son maistre, avoit envie de rompre, il en prendroit le prétexte que bon luy sembleroit, mais que tel rompt qui s'en repent, et que beaucoup mieulx vaudroit de cercher et embrasser les moyens propres à nostre bon accord et manutention de longue tranquillité, ce qu'il m'advoua avec protestation d'en estre aussy desireux que moy, mais que l'on n'en prennoit pas le chemin, ains qu'il semble que noz péchéz ayent provoqué l'ire divine sur nous.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

14 avril 1610.

Monseigneur,

Avecq les dernières de Vostre Altèze me sont arrivées, la veille de Pasques, les lettres qu'elle et la sérénissime infante ont escrites à la duchesse d'Angoulesme et au connestable de France, lesquelles je leur ay délivrées avant-hier, et conséquemment leur ay représenté ce dont il avoit pleu à Vostre Altèze m'en charger par sesdictes dernières. Ladicte duchesse, après avoir leu les lettres de la sérénissime infante en ma présence et ouy mes remonstrances sur les causes du refus de Vostre Altèze, n'en monstra point de mescontentement, ny de parole, ny de mine. Au contraire, entendue la déclaration par moy faicte que Vostre Altèze ne forcera jamais la princesse de Condé à suyvre le prince, son mary, elle tesmoigna de recevoir singulière allégresse de si bonnes nouvelles, pour n'avoir jamais rien plus appréhendé, sinon que ladicte princesse fust envoyée contre son gré en Espagne, ou en autres pays estrangers, qui luy eust causé la mort et audict connestable, comme elle disoit; de sorte qu'elle se tenoit très-obligée de nouveau à Vostre Altèze de ceste courtoisie et de la continuation des honneurs et bons traittements dont elle favorise ladicte princesse. Et quant audict connestable, il n'ouvrit pas en ma présence les lettres à luy escrites, mais feit semblant de ne prendre en mauvaise part ce que je luy représentois du contenu en icelles. Puis se réjouissant et remerciant Vostre Altèze de ce que je luy promettois qu'elle ne constraindra jamais ladicte princesse, sa fille, à retourner vers son mary, il me demanda si les lettres de Vostre Altèze en mentionnoyent, et, au cas que non, s'il n'y auroit moyen de tirer de Vostre Altèze cette promesse par escrit pour sa plus grande asseurance. A quoy je respondiz qu'il

avoit subject de se contenter de ma parole, pource qu'il ne debvoit craindre que j'en fusse désadvoué par Vostre Altèze, ny qu'elle manquast jamais à sa promesse, dont enfin il resta content, et me monstra fort bon visage, qui me meut de luy dire que j'estois bien aise de veoir les effectz de sa prudence contraires au bruict qui avoit courru par la ville, qu'au cas dudict refus de Vostre Altèze, il s'en prendroit au Roy, son maistre, pour le disposer à redemander ladicte princesse par la voye des armes. Et il me respondit que jà il ne pleust à Dieu qu'il se rendist autheur d'un si grand mal, qu'il avoit trop d'expérience pour vouloir inviter le Roy à une telle guerre, qu'au contraire il seroit toujours porté à verser de l'eau sur le feu, et que tout le monde seroit repeu de manne s'il ne tenoit qu'à son souhait, me confessant avecq ce que non pas luy seulement, mais encore les autres plus grands du royaume, ne desiroient pas ladicte guerre, ains espéroit qu'il n'en seroit rien. Et sur ce nous nous départismes après qu'il m'eut dict qu'il respondroit ausdictes lettres et m'envoyeroit ses responses pour les addresser.

Mais le lendemain j'entenditz bien autres nouvelles du président Jeannin, qui me vint veoir sur le soir, et me dist qu'une heure après que j'eus laissé ledict connestable, il avoit parlé à luy et eu inspection desdictes lettres de Vostre Altèze et de la sérénissime infante, desquelles il l'avoit trouvé fort mal content et tout disposé à s'en plaindre au Roy, pour en avoir la raison, et que, pour estre grand personnage et le premier officier de la couronne, le Roy par avanture pourroit faire quelque chose en sa faveur. Je respondiz que ce n'estoit pas le langage que le connestable m'avoit tenu, et luy racontay les propos passez entre nous, telz que cy-dessus, dont il s'esmerveilla. Et comme, sur ma demande si le Roy estoit adverty du contenu èsdictes lettres, il eust confessé qu'ouy, je prins conjecture que le Roy lui en debvoit avoir parlé, veu mesmement qu'il me dict d'avoir esté le matin au Louvre, voire, je présume, que le Roy l'avoit envoyé vers moy pour m'ouyr de plus près sur cette matière, tant prennoit-il de peine à me persuader que Vostre Altèze, sans blesser sa réputation, peut renvoyer ladicte princesse en France, nonobstant sa promesse faicte audict prince de ne la renvoyer à aultre qu'à luy, ne fust en cas de divorce. Je luy diz qu'il estoit homme sage et vertueux, et le priay de mettre la main sur sa conscience pour juger franchement si ledict refus de Vostre Altèze est accompagné de raison ou point. Il respondit que le Roy se plaignoit de ladicte promesse de Vostre Altèze, comme si par là elle eust voulu plus complaire audict prince qu'à luy, et qu'en tout cas elle avoit esté faite *rebus sic stantibus*, mais qu'à présent l'estat des

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objecter les exemples des fils de don Antonio de Portugal et d'Antonio Perez, entretenus par le Roy très-chrestien, ledict président disoit que ce n'estoient pas personnes de la qualité dudict prince, et qu'au reste sadicte Majesté ne les avoit jamais redemandez. En quoy je diz que nous n'étions pas d'accord en fait, mais que je ne voulois pas entrer en cette dispute plus avant, pour estre affaire d'Espagne. Bien luy en remontray-je qu'à son compte nous aurions la guerre, encore que ladicte princesse fust renvoyée à son père; il respondit que, si *l'on pourvoyoit au faict de ladicte princesse, ce seroit par aventure arracher la plus grosse espine qui cause le mal, et donner un acheminement à mieulx accommoder tout.* Et de là tombant sur les affaires de Juilliers, il me dict que peut-estre, sans la retraicte dudict prince avecq ladicte princesse, les roys d'Espagne et de France n'eussent pas rompu entre eulx pour le secours qu'ilz eussent envoyé, l'un au party de l'Empereur, et l'autre à celuy des princes de Brandenbourg et de Neubourg, mais que, selon l'estat présent des affaires, il faisoit à craindre que le progrès et eschauffement de la guerre d'Allemagne ne donnast un grand heurt à leur amytié. Je luy proposay l'expédient du nonce de Sa Saincteté, mentionné ès dictes dernières à Vostre Altèze. Mais il me dict que lesdicts princes ne se soubmettroient jamais à la juridiction impériale, et qu'aussy lesdits roys ne tomberoient jamais d'accord sur le faict de la sentence; de sorte qu'à son opinion cet expédient estoit peu à propos, mais il en falloit trouver un autre par lequel l'on peust incontinent mettre la hache à la racine, et moyenner la fin finale de tous les différens, tel que seroit le partage des pays délaissez par le feu ducq de Clèves entre les princes de Saxe-Brandenbourg et de Neubourg. Et là-dessus, s'estant encore passées quelques reparties entre nous, tant sur le point de la religion qu'autrement, ledict président me laissa en opinion que, si ladicte princesse demeuroit à Bruxelles, nous aurions bien à faire à demeurer en repos.

Toutefois don Inigo de Cardenas *m'a voulu faire accroire d'avoir sceu d'asseurance par les propos, tant dudict nonce que du cardinal de Joyeuse et d'aultres, mesme du marquis Botti, maistre d'hostel du grand-ducq de Toscane, estant présentement en ceste ville, que sa dernière audience a tellement esbranlé le Roi très-chrestien que depuis ce temps il avoit perdu la plus grande partie de l'envie qu'il avoit de nous faire la guerre; aussi y a-t-il des dames qui m'ont dict bien sçavoir que le Roy faict mine de vouloir la guerre, et que néantmoins il ne la veult pas.* Mais je ne me puis encore résouldre à ceste créance, quoyque *ledict nonce m'ait déclairé de tenir de bonne part que depuis ladicte audience le Roy a dit à quelque seigneur de sa cour qu'il ne s'est pas*

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résolu de faire la guerre au Roy catholique, ni à Vostre Altèze, ce que néantmoins, *ledict nonce ne prend pas pour argent comptant et ne s'y fie aullement.* Il est bien vray qu'au dire de quelques-uns *qui ont part au secret, le Roy très-chrestien est fort irrésolu sur la conduite de la guerre*, ayant *le ducq d'Espernon* dit ces jours passez en discourant de ce subject : 'Nous voulons et ne voulons pas ; nous faisons et ne faisons pas,' comme aussi l'on m'assure que *le prince d'Anhalt est dernièrement party assez mal content du Roy*, et s'est plainct à quelques seigneurs *qu'il est trop tenant et mesquin, sans vouloir envoyer deniers en Allemagne, lesquelz il disoit y estre plus de ires que ses gens ni sa personne.* Cependant l'on tient pour certain que les Suisses sont entrez en vostre comté de Bourgoigne, et que devant la fin de ce mois ilz seront à Chalon avecq partie de l'infanterie et cavallerie françoise. Il est aussy notoire que par cette ville passent souvent chevaulx d'artillerie en bon nombre, et que l'on continue à faire les provisions de vivres et munitions le long de la rivière de Meuze. Bref, à mon advis, le seul moyen de faire refroidir les desseins du Roy très-chrestien est que nous armions gaillardement et au plus tost que faire se pourra. A quoy se conforment les opinions de tous les amys que nous avons par deçà.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

16 avril 1610.

Monseigneur,

J'ay un peu différé d'envoyer à Vostre Altèze mes lettres du 14 de ce mois, en attendant ce qui se passeroit en une audience que le nonce de Sa Saincteté avoit fait demander au Roy très-chrestien, après m'avoir *communiqué partie de ce qu'il avoit proposé de luy représenter.* Laquelle audience luy estant donnée le jour d'hier, il m'a raconté d'avoir pour entrée de discours exhorté le Roy à la paix, et mesme à l'accoisement des affaires d'Allemagne, luy ramentevant l'expédient mentionné ès dernières de Vostre Altèze, dont il disoit avoir parlé au S^r^ de Villeroy. Et le Roy respondit qu'il en avoit ouy le rapport, et que le nonce faisoit bien de travailler ainsy pour le repos commun, mais que la guerre s'avançoit fort et estoit à la porte, qu'il y avoit desjà employé cincq ou six cens mille escuz, et que sans point de doubtes il seroit en personne hors de son royaume avecq son armée dans un mois. Le nonce luy demanda quel chemin il faisoit estat de prendre, et s'il auroit aggréable que les ambassadeurs le suyvissent. Il respondit qu'il *prendroit le chemin du pays de Liége et ne passeroit que bien peu de lieues sur celluy de Vostre Altèze* sans y gister, et quant *aux ambassadeurs que*

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d'aventure aulcuns d'entre eulx le pourroient suyvre, mais qu'il laisseroit en ceste ville la Royne, le chancellier et les aultres de son conseil. Le nonce lui remonstra que son armée prenant telle route en pourroit faillir de mettre Sa Majesté catholique et Vostre Altèze en grand ombrage, selon qu'il avoit assez recognu par les propos de don Innigo de Cardenas en sa dernière audience, dont ledict nonce luy répéta la substance, disant avoir entendu que le Roy en estoit resté offensé, et que ledict don Innigo pensoit avoir remarqué qu'il avoit peu de bonne volonté envers sadicte Majesté et Vostre Altèze. A quoy le Roy respondit que l'on monstroit bien en Espagne que l'on ne vouloit pas son amytié, et qu'il venoit de recevoir nouvelles que le prince de Condé estoit arrivé à Milan, où le comte de Fuentes l'avoit aussytost accueilly, mené et logé fort honorablement et splendidement au chasteau, y adjoustant que les Espagnols travaillent fort pour luy oster le ducq de Savoye, mais qu'ylz y perdent leur peine. Et pour le regard de Vostre Altèze, il dit qu'elle avoit trop fait paroistre de faire plus d'estime de l'amytié dudict prince que de la sienne, mesmes par le bruict qu'elle avoit fait courir qu'il avoit voulu faire enlever ladicte princesse, dont sa réputation estoit intéressée outre mesure. A quoy ayant le nonce reparty qu'il ne m'avoit jamais ouy charger le Roy du dessein d'enlèvement, et que l'auditeur Ottenberg en avoit aussy parlé autrement à Sa Saincteté de la part de Vostre Altèze, à sçavoir qu'elle avoit esté informée qu'aucuns François factieux avoit comploté et tressé un dessein d'enlever ladicte personne, mais qu'elle s'asseuroit que ç'avoit esté au desceu du Roy, et qu'il n'eust jamais voulu advouer tel attentat, le Roy dit que ce n'estoient que paroles et desguisemens, voire mesme que c'estoit autant que de le vouloir couvrir d'un sacq mouillé, et qu'il n'y avoit personne de si peu de jugement qui creust que l'on eust voulu entreprendre d'enlever ladicte princesse sans son commandement. Il dit davantage avecq aigreur que Vostre Altèze avoit à grand tort refusé au connestable et à la duchesse d'Angoulesme de leur renvoyer ladicte princesse, et que ledict connestable dépescheroit un autre homme vers Bruxelles avecq lettres pour autrefois demander ledict renvoi, et qu'au cas de second refus il ne dénieroit à un tel officier de sa couronne l'assistance nécessaire pour luy en faire avoir la raison, et *que Vostre Altèze s'en repentiroit.* Le nonce respondit de m'avoir ouy discourir de cet affaire, et particulièrement des raisons qui avoient obligé Vostre Altèze audict refus, et qu'il luy sembloit que j'eusse raison, mesmes d'avoir entendu de moy que ledict connétable et ladicte duchesse d'Angoulesme avoient fait paroistre d'en demeurer assez appaisez, sans m'en avoir fait aucunes

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doléances, ains qu'au contraire ilz avoient montré beaucoup de resjouissance de quoy je leur avois promis que Vostre Altèze ne constraindroit jamais ladicte princesse de retourner vers son mary, et au reste avoient dict de vouloir intenter à Rome, en diligence, le procès de separation, à l'avancement et expédition duquel le nonce offroit de tenir la bonne main. Le Roy répliqua que ledict connestable en avoit bien parlé d'un autre langage que je ne disois, et que ladicte promesse de Vostre Altèze de ne constraindre ladicte princesse à suyvre son mary, comme aussy de la renvoyer en France, moyennant une sentence de séparation, n'estoient qu'artifices pour tenir les choses en alte, et cependant attendre la mort du connestable ou aultre changement, mais qu'il *pourverroit en faveur du bon vieillard; desquelles menaces comme le nonce monstroit de s'esmerveiller, le Roy luy dit que ce n'estoit pas pour menacer Vostre Altèze qu'il en parloit de la sorte, et ne disoit pas qu'il luy voulust faire la guerre*, mais que les événemens rendroient preuve que *Vostre Altèze auroit esté très-mal conseillé de faire ledict refus, et qu'il garderoit en tout le droit des gens*, ce que j'interprète qu'il *dénoncera la guerre à Vostre Altèze devant que la commencer.* Suyvant quoy *ledict nonce m'a dit qu'il seroit marry que l'on seust qu'il m'a raconté lesdictes menaces.* Le Roy luy dit en après qu'il avoit besoin d'une grosse armée pour les secours des princes de Brandenbourg et de Neubourg, d'autant que l'Empereur en apprestoit une fort puissante, et que l'archiducq Léopolde aura bientost dix-huict mille hommes ensemble, mesme que Vostre Altèze s'est assez déclarée pour le parti impérial, ayant fait entrer les gens dudict archiducq Léopolde en la ville de Rynberck, et luy envoyé le maistre de camp Pompeo Giustiniano, et despeché vers le pays de Luxembourg le comte de Busquoy avecq quattre à cinq mille hommes, outre les autres levées de gens qu'elle fait faire de nouveau. De laquelle déclaration de Vostre Altèze pour le party impérial j'ay désabusé ledict nonce, assurant qu'il n'en est rien jusques à présent, bien que Vostre Altèze face gens pour se tenir sur ses gardes et faire teste à l'armée françoise s'il en est besoin. Sur quoy *ledict nonce m'a remonstré fort chaudement, en conformité de l'advis dudit don Inniго et du mien, que Vostre Altèze ne peult mieulx faire que d'assembler le plus de forces qu'il sera possible, et que la diligence y sera du tout nécessaire, afin de les avoir prestes en temps et heure, croyant fermement avecq moy que le roy de France ne manquera de se trouver sur la frontière dans un mois ou bien peu de jours après*, dont la voix est aussi toute commune en ceste ville, et que le Roy doibt partir d'icy le 13 du mois prochain, qui sera trois jours après le couronnement de la Royne, selon le desseing que

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l'on en faict. Je sçay aussy de vray que *le ducq de Nevers, général de la cavallerie légère, doibt partir de caste ville au plus tard lundy prochain vers Chalon, pour y faire revue de quelque cavalerie, ayant luy-mesme dit à un personnage d'auctorité, de qui je le sçay*, que le 25 de ce mois il y aura des grandes trouppes audict Chalon ou ès environs de là, mesmes les six mille Suysses que le Roy a dit au nonce debvoir arriver à St-Jehan de Laune le 20 de ce mois. *Ledict ducq de Nevers asseure d'abondant que le roy de France marchera avecq son armée par le pays de Liége, sauf quelque peu qu'il chemine sur celluy de Vostre Altèze, et qu'il est résoulu de demander à icelle le passage.* Quant au nombre des gens de ladicte armée, *ledict ducq* affirme qu'elle sera de douze mille François et six mille Suysses fantassins, outre les quattre mille François estans en Hollande, et que la cavallerie se montera à trois mille cinq cens chevaulx sans la cornette blanche. Au reste je suis adverty de fort bonne part que c'est contre la *résolution de tous ceulx du conseil que le Roy s'est déterminé de s'en aller hors du royaulme, et que mesmement il n'y a personne du conseil qui n'ait un grand desgoustement de la guerre qu'il veult mener.* . . . A cet instant, je viens d'apprendre certainement que le Roy à commandé *de luy faire trois colletz de buffetries et trois casaques de velour broddées d'or et de ciffres désignans sa devise* (et peult-estre *celle de ladicte princesse*), *les colletz à porter dessoubz et les cazaques dessus les armes, à quoy l'on employera quatre mille escuz ou environ. Il a aussy fait faire deux cuyrasses* (*oultre celle qu'il souloit porter*) *à l'espreuve par devant de l'arquebuse et par derrière du pistolet, qui est une nouvelle confirmation de ce que j'ay dit qu'il se veult trouver à la guerre en personne.*

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

19 avril 1610.

. . . . Et à propos des armées il[1] me dit avoir beaucoup de regret que l'on en vouloit venir là, et qu'il eust beaucoup mieulx vallu de chercher les voyes d'accord, lesquelles il protestoit desirer de tout son cœur, et au prix de son sang s'il en estoit besoing. Je respondiz que mes discours avoient toujours rendu tesmoignage que Vostre Altèze ne desiroit que paix, et qu'elle le monstreroit par les effectz à toutes occasions. Et sur sa réplique que personne ne parloit d'accord, et que mesmement Sa Sainteté manquoit à cette occurrence tant importante de faire les debvoirs à ce requis, je remis en avant l'expédient proposé par le nonce, l'asseurant que Vostre Altèze y tiendroit volontiers la main et avoit desjà fait quelques

[1] Villeroy.

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offices à ces fins. Il repartit que l'on n'en disoit rien au coste d'Espagne, et qu'en tous cas il fauldroit que les princes électeurs ecclésiastiques s'en meslassent et donnassent laparole que l'Empereur ne décideroit rien de l'affaire sans préalable satisfaction des roys d'Espagne et de France, y adjoustant que le Sr de Boissize, ambassadeur françois, avoit desjà veu l'électeur de Mayence, qu'il jugeoit d'assez bonne inclination, et s'en estoit allé trouver celuy de Trèves. Mais comme, sur ma demande s'il avoit traitté dudict expédient, ledict de Villeroy m'eut respondu que non, je luy diz que, si le Roy son maistre vouloit embrasser ce fait à bon escient, l'on en feroit autant du costé de Sa Majesté et de Vostre Altèze, m'ayant don Inigo de Cardenas dict peu auparavant que je me pourrois eslargir jusques-là. Et ledict de Villeroy me dit ne pouvoir nier que cet expédient ne fust de bonne apparence, mais qu'il est désormais tard de le mettre en pratique, pource que nous sommes si prestz à venir aux mains, et que l'on auroit bien du mal à faire poser les armes aux parties soubs prétexte de cette ouverture d'accord si crue, veu mesmes que nous avons des autres difficultez sur les bras qui nous aigrissent plus que celle de Juilliers, nommément le fait du prince de Condé, qu'il disoit estre logé au palais de Milan, et y traitté en sorte de par sadicte Majesté catholicque, que ledict Sr Roy ne pouvoit qu'il ne s'en offensast grandement, et que nous ferions beaucoup mieulx de nous disposer aussy en ce regard à quelque voye d'accommodement. Je luy demanday quel; et ouye sa response que l'on pourroit adviser de l'envoyer à Rome soubz la protection de Sa Saincteté, je luy représentay d'avoir autrefois proposé au Roy et à luy, lorsque ledict prince estoit encore à Bruxelles, qu'il se retirast en quelque place neutre, moyennant qu'elle fust catholique, mais que l'on m'y avoit fait la sourde oreille. Ce que m'estant par luy confessé, et que néantmoins à présent le Roy se pourroit contenter que le prince fust à Rome, je luy diz que ce seroit une occasion propre à l'avancement du procès de divorce, en y envoyant par ladicte princesse ou le connestable, son père, qui en feict la poursuite de leur part; puis je pressay ledict de Villeroy de faire intenter ledict procès, qui serviroit à nous descharger de ladicte princesse au contentement dudict connestable et d'autres ses parents. Il respondit que cette voye seroit propre si elle n'estoit trop longue, et qu'il falloit un remède plus prompt pour prévenir les malheurs de guerre qui nous menaçoient. Je luy diz que dez piéça l'on debvoit avoir commencé, et que ledict connestable n'en pouvoit imputer le délay qu'à soy-mesme, sans qu'il y eust subject de se vouloir prendre à Vostre Altèze pour le séjour de ladicte princesse en son palais,

jusques à ce qu'il y ayt sentence rendue sur ledict divorce, puisque sa promesse, sa foy et son honneur ne luy permettent d'en user autrement. Comme aussy je luy disois que ledict S^r^ Roy n'avoit occasion d'attaquer Vostre Altèze pour les affaires de Juilliers, parce que jusques à présent elle ne s'estoit entremise de cette guerre. A quoy après qu'il m'eut respondu que l'affaire de ladicte princesse estoit fort fâcheuse, et apparente d'esclorre des grands maulx, et qu'au reste il fauldra bien que Vostre Altèze se mesle de ladicte guerre de Juilliers, attendu que sadicte Majesté catholique la soustient, et que sans leur assistance le party impérial seroit notoirement trop foible, voire que les choses se pourroient réduire à une bataille pour le passage, je luy diz que, si le Roy, son maistre, n'avoit non plus d'envie d'entrer en ladicte guerre que nous, il n'y auroit rien qui nous peust brouiller de ce costé-là. Finalement nous entrepromismes l'un à l'autre de songer de plus près à l'acheminement desdicts expédiens ou d'autres qui se pourroient trouver plus à propos. APP. XIX.

Et le jour d'hier, sur les trois heures de relevée, ledict S^r^ de Villeroy me vint dire chez moy qu'il avoit remonstré au Roy, son maistre, peu d'heures auparavant, tous lesdicts discours passez entre nous, et particulièrement ce qu'il avoit recognu de la bonne intention de Vostre Altèze d'ayder à conduire et associer le tout à l'amiable, mais qu'il avoit trouvé le Roy fort esmeu et altéré. Et là-dessus il usa de ces termes : 'Vous m'avez parlé hier franchement et clèrement, j'en veulx faire autant en vostre endroict, et vous diz comme de moy-mesme qu'il y a de la passion, et que, si l'on veult remédier au fait de la princesse, il y aura moyen d'accommoder et appaiser tout le surplus sur le pied que nous dismes hier ou autre, mais, au cas que ladicte princesse demeure où elle est, nous sommes à la veille d'une rupture qui pourra mettre le feu aux quattre coings de la chrestienté.' Je luy diz qu'il me faisoit plaisir de me parler rondement, et que je voyois bien maintenant de n'avoir erré en mon opinion que tous ces remuemens ne se faisoient que pour la princesse, et que, si nous tombions en guerre, elle en seroit le principal subject, mais que je ne me pouvois assez esmerveiller de cette véhémente passion, qui tireroit à sa suyte un si grand et horrible embrasement, avecq beaucoup d'autres remonstrances que je luy feis pour faire paroistre qu'il n'y auroit aucune coulpe nostre, ains que celuy-là s'en pourroit bien repentir qui en seroit cause. Sa repartie fut que le Roy considéroit que c'est pour l'amour de luy que ladicte princesse endure et est misérable, se trouvant par là obligé à la faire renvoyer à son père. Et sur l'itérative instance par moy faite qu'il eust à

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juger selon sa conscience s'il y avoit aucune espèce de raison de vouloir pour ce faire la guerre à Vostre Altèze, il respondit que je posasse le cas que non, mais que j'advisasse si, pour si peu de chose et pour une formalité, il seroit sagement fait de se plonger aux extrémitez de mettre toute la chrestienté sens dessus dessoubs. Je luy diz que pour chose du monde Vostre Altèze ne se laisseroit jamais aller à lascheté, ny à chose quelconque qui peust esbrécher son honneur, et qu'il n'y falloit pas penser. Je diz aussy qu'il ne pleust jà à Dieu qu'il tombast en mon imagination de m'employer pour tel party. Il répliqua que ledict prince a constraint par force ladicte princesse, et le pistolet au poing, de s'en aller avecq luy au Pays-Bas, et que la femme n'est pas tenue de suyvre son mary qui quite sa patrie et son roy, mais qu'en tel cas elle se peult séparer de fait de luy, et s'en retourner vers ses parens, en quoy personne ne la doibt empescher, concluant par ces allégations que, puisque ladicte princesse desire de s'en retourner en France, et que son père la demande, voire qu'elle se laisseroit plustost estrangler que de se remettre jamais en la compagnie de son mary, vostre Altèze n'a peu faire promesse obligatoire par laquelle ladicte princesse, n'y ayant consentie, debvroit estre forcée de demeurer comme bannie de son pays. Auxquelles allégations je ne manquay de response, dont il seroit trop long de faire icy particulier récit. Et voyant que ledict de Villeroy persistoit en sa proposition, jusqu'à me dire que celuy qui trouveroit un expédient pour luy faire renvoyer ladicte princesse feroit le plus grand bien qui fut jamais fait à la chrestienté, veu qu'autrement il n'y avoit moyen de la garantir d'une guerre universèle, je luy diz que j'entendois bien ce langage, qui nous menaçoit ouvertement de rupture, et que partant je croyois l'advis à moy donné que le Roy avoit dict qu'il ne renouvelleroit jà la neutralité, si l'on ne luy rendoit ladicte princesse. Il repartit que celuy qui m'avoit donné tel advis eust mieulx fait de me le laisser deviner, et que néantmoins je ne debvois pas tenir la neutralité pour faillie, ains m'arrester à ce qu'il m'en avoit dict, mais qu'au reste il ne me vouloit pas recéler qu'il est bien vray que *le premier desseing du Roy n'a esté que de faire levée de quelques trouppes pour envoyer un secours médiocre aux princes de Brandenbourg et de Neubourg, qui n'eust peu mettre Vostre Altèze en ombrage, mais que depuis les aigreurs procédées des affaires dudict prince et de ladicte princesse l'ont porté à dresser une forte et puissante armée pour pis faire.* Il me dit d'avantage qu'encore que le Roy, son maistre, *traictant le mariage de sa fille avecq le prince de Savoye, n'ait eu desseing de remuer en Italie, ni mesmes oncques voulu entrer audict traité devant que don Pedro de*

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Toledo eust rompu toute la négociation de l'alliance d'Espagne, si est-ce que, s'il faut rompre en Flandre, je puis bien penser que Sa Majesté catholique aura des affaires partout. Et sur ma response que *l'on trouveroit à qui parler deçà et delà les monts, il me pria* autrefois *avecq beaucoup de douleur de penser au renvoy de ladicte princesse, disant qu'à son advis Sa Saincteté y interposera volontiers son intercession envers Vostre Altèze Sérénissime, et que j'en pourrois parler au nonce résident en* ceste court. Et sur la fin il me proposa que Vostr Altèze se debvoit tant et plus facilement résouldre audict renvoy qu'elle avoit fait promettre audict connestable et à la duchess d'Angoulesme de ne jamais contraindre ladicte princesse à retourne vers son mary, et par ainsy s'estoit aucunement desmarchée de s promesse faite audict prince de ne la rendre à autre qu'à luy; j respondis que Vostre Altèze, en retenant ladicte princesse par delà satisfaisoit indubitablement à l'une et à l'autre de sesdictes pro messes, comme je m'asseurois que ledict de Villeroy le comprenoi bien, pour n'avoir Vostre Altèze jamais promis au prince de lu rendre ladicte princesse contre son gré. A quoy il ne sceut qu répliquer, sinon qu'il y avoit de la subtilité en cette interprétation En somme notre recès fut qu'il me pria et repria d'adviser s'il n' auroit moyen de procurer ledict renvoy; et moy je le pria ardemment de divertir le Roy de son dessein, dont il me laissa pe d'espérance.

Tost après survint chez moy le S^r^ de Preaux, et, après m'avoi parlé de l'accord de la princesse de Ligne avec le prince d'Espinoy et que l'advis de vostre grand conseil avoit esté du tout contraire ladicte princesse, il se jetta sur le discours des affaires publiques, e me dit *en termes assez mal mesurez que nous donnions en tout e partout cause aux présens remuemens, desgoustans et offensans e plusieurs sortes le Roy son maistre.* Sur quoy comme je luy eu res pondu avecq le zèle et la franchise qu'il convenoit, il me dit qu Vostre Altèze avoit bonne volonté, mais qu'elle estoit constrainte d se conformer aux résolutions d'Espagne. Je repartiz qu'il parloi de choses dont je ne pensois pas qu'il fust bien informé, mais qu je le debvrois estre mieulx que luy, sçachant que les volontés d sadicte Majesté et de Vostre Altèze ne sont qu'une, selon que l requiert l'estroite conjonction qui est entre elles, mais qu'au rest Vostre Altèze est maistre en son pays comme les aultres prince souverains le sont ès leurs. Il continua à maintenir que, sans le deffences venues d'Espagne, Vostre Altèze eust pieçà renvoy ladicte princesse en France, en conformité de ce qu'il disoit *lu avoir esté déclairé par le S^r^ de Vendegies*, présens le marquis d

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Cœuvre et le secrétaire dudict connestable, qu'il *s'asseuroit que ladicte princesse ne seroit jamais trois jours au palais que Vostre Altèze ne la rendist à son père.* Je luy demanday si ledict S^r^ de Vendegies *l'avoit aussy déclairé par charge de Vostre Altèze,* et il me respondit que non. Puis, comme il m'eut dict que la dernière promesse de Vostre Altèze de ne forcer ladicte princesse à retourner vers son mary *estoit contradictoire à la première de ne la rendre à aultre qu'à luy,* et que je luy eu respondu comme j'avois fait audiet S^r^ de Villeroy sur le mesme subject, il me demanda si ladicte princesse, qui aymeroit mieux mourrir que de se rendre à son mary, debvoit toujours estre esloignée de tous ses parens. Et sur ma responce qu'elle et ses parens pouvoient poursuyvre la séparation judiciaire, auquel cas de séparation Vostre Altèze avoit piéçà offert et promis de renvoyer ladicte princesse par deçà, il me feit un autre interrogatoire, à sçavoir : *si Vostre Altèze pourroit effectuer ceste offre et promesse, et si les Espagnolz ne l'en empescheroient.* A quoy après que j'eu respondu qu'il avoit tort d'en doubter, et feroit mieulx de se déporter de telles demandes, il calla voile en exaltant les vertuz de Vostre Altèze, et confessant de luy estre infiniment obligé des honneurs, faveurs et courtoisies qu'il a receu d'icelle, de sorte que nous restasmes enfin bons amys.

Et depuis le partement dudict de Preaux, le nonce de Sa Saincteté me donna part, hier sur les sept heures du soir, de ce que le *chancellier luy estoit venu dire en secret touchant lesdictes affaires publicques avecq semonce de n'en sonner mot audict don Innigo ny à moy,* à sçavoir en substance que l'on estoit *sur le point d'une rupture avecq nous, et que pour une grande partie ladicte princesse en seroit le subject, si l'on n'y pourvoyoit en diligence, mesmes à l'intervention de Sa Saincteté,* à laquelle *il désiroit de l'exhorter à tenir la main vers Vostre Altèze Sérénissime pour ledict renvoy, sans attrendre la sentence de divorce, qui tireroit trop à la longue, usant ledict chancellier de* plusieurs moyens de persuasion pour *à ce engager ledict nonce comme à un grand bien de toute la chrestienté.* Mais *le nonce luy respondit que sadicte Saincteté ne conseilleroit jamais à Vostre Altèze de faire une chose que luy-mesme ne feroit pas en cas pareil, et qu'il sçavoit bien que Vostre Altèze aymeroit mieulx hazarder son estat, et dix aultres si elle les avoit, que de faire un* faulx bond *à son honneur, priant ledict Chancellier de se servir de la voye de justice pour faire juger le divorce, et de croyre qu'il n'y avoit aultre moyen de reveoir ladicte princesse en France, mesmes de considérer qu'en cas de guerre le connestable sera taillé de ne la veoir jamais.* De laquelle responsse si résolue *ledict chancellier restant estonné,* demanda *audict nonce*

si du moins l'on se pourroit asseurer que, moyennant une sentence de divorce, Vostre Altèze rendroit ladicte princesse à son père. Et sur l'affirmation dudict *nonce que cela estoit hors de doubte et qu'il oseroit en respondre de sa teste, le chancelier dit en ces termes : 'Et bien doncq nous verrons;'* et pria aultrefois *ledit nonce d'estre secret pour bons respectz.*

Or, rapportant ce discours *du chancellier à ceulx desdictz S^rs de Villeroy et Préaux, comme aussy à celluy du président Jeannin,* ce qui en résulte est que l'on entonne *tant de menaces pour essayer d'esbranler la constance de Vostre Altèze,* mais que voyans les ministres et conseillers principaulx du roy très-chrestien qu'ilz *ne puissent rien gaigner sur icelle, ilz retourneront à luy dissuader sondict desseing de rupture,* comme je suis bien asseuré qu'ilz *ont faict jusques à présent avecq les principaulx chefs de guerre, tant pour le peu de fondement qu'eulx-mesmes recognoissent pour y avoir en la cause* comme pour aultant qu'ils tiennent l'entreprinse pour fort hazardeuse *et téméraire, jugeans qu'elle réuscira à leur dommage, si avant que le ducq d'Espernon a dit audict nonce ces mots : 'Nous sommes tous perduz si la guerre va avant;'* ce que mesmement se confirme par la voix et fame commune du peuple.

Toutesfois je tiens fermement que *le roy de France ne laissera pour cela de passer oultre, comme de faict il advance son armée avecq beaucoup de chaleur, et commencent les trouppes à s'assembler en Champaigne,* mesmes celles des régimens de Picardie et Champaigne, comme m'a dit entre les autres *le S^r de Guesle, maistre de camp dudict régiment de Champaigne,* et qu'il y doibt ammener onze de ses compagnies, et les aultres maistres de camp des vieux régiments de mesme. Je me suis miz en discours avecq lui sur le chemin qùe vouldroit prendre le Roy pour mener son armée vers Juilliers, et il m'a confessé qu'elle s'en ira droict à Bouillon, de là à Paliseux, puis à Rochefort, et ainsy de suite sur le pays de Liége, sans toucher à vostre pays de Luxembourg que bien peu. Je continue à presser ledict don Innigo pour la despêche du *capitaine de Rusticis vers Châlon et lieux circonvoisins, afin d'avoir un rapport asseuré de temps à aultre de l'estat de l'armée.* Cependant je me resjouis d'entendre que Vostre Altèze en va apprestant une gaillarde de son costé, espérant qu'elle sera bientost en campagne, comme il est besoin pour estre celluy-cy le seul moyen de conservation après Dieu. . . .

L'on vient de m'advertir de fort bon lieu que *ladicte princesse a escript au roy de France le jour de Pasques, et qu'il y a un personnage françois par delà qui traitte avecq elle en toute familiarité.* Je sçay *aussy que ledict roy a faict achepter des belles et riches estoffes de drap*

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d'or par son grand escuyer pour les envoyer à ladicte princesse, et qu'elles seront à Bruxellcs dans trois ou quatre jours au plus tard, et croyt-on que c'est au sceu du connestable, bien que je n'en veuille rien affirmer. . . .

The Archdukes to Pecquius.

(MINUTE.) 22 avril 1610.

Cher et féal, à peine seroit close nostre lettre cy-jointe du jour d'hier, quand nous arriva vostre dernière du xix^e^ de ce mois, qui nous a esté bien-venue, et pour les particularitez y contenues, et pour les discrètes reparties et responses par vous faictes aux S^rs^ de Villeroy et Preaux. Et pour aultant que concerne l'affaire de la neutralité des deux Bourgoignes, nostre volonté est que continuiez à presser tant icelluy de Villeroy que aultres ministres du roy très-chrestien, que conviendra qu'au plus tost jour soit prins pour en traicter et en faire une fin. Et veu que le mesme de Villeroy (pour entraver les maulx que pourra produire la guerre dont l'on nous menace) vous a miz en avant l'envoy du prince de Condé à Rome, soubs la protection de Sa Saincteté, et dit que ledict S^r^ roy se pourroit contenter qu'il fust jà à Rome, ce qu'il doibt ainsi avoir déclairé par son ordre, nostre intention est que faciez valoir ceste proposition vers lesdicts ministres, afin qu'ilz tiennent la main que ledict S^r^ roy en face traicter avec nostre très-saint père le pape par lettre de son nonce résidant à Paris, ou par la voye qu'il voira convenir, que Sa Saincteté se veuille interposer vers Sa Majesté afin qu'elle se contente que ledict de Condé se retire audict Rome, cõmbien le face proposer en Espagne par don Innigo de Cardenas, ou ainsi qu'il le trouvera le plus à propos, attendu que ledict de Condé se trouve en lieu de l'obéyssance de sadicte Majesté, et conséquemment hors de nostre pouvoir. Et toutesfois, si ledict S^r^ roy estimera que de nostre part s'y puisse aussy faire quelque office avecq fruict vers l'un ou l'autre ou vers tous deux, en estans advertiz, nous le ferons voloptiers. Quant à la princesse de Condé (qui semble debvoir estre le principal subiet de la rupture et guerre, s'il y fauldra venir, ainsy qu'avez dit bien audict de Villeroy), puisque l'on désire avec tant d'ardeur son renvoy en France, le moyen plus propre et court en seroit celluy du divorce, par vous jà plusieurs fois proposé de nostre part, ou bien que le connestable rende peine d'induire le prince, son mary, à consentir le renvoy de ladicte princesse en la maison d'icelluy connestable. Et si l'on desirera par delà que nous facions aulcuns offices et diligences pour

faciliter l'un ou l'autre de ces deux moyens, nous en faisans advertir, nous nous y employerons volontiers, et en sorte que l'on pourra recognoistre qu'il ne tient aulcunement à nous que ledict connestable ne reçoyve ce contentement auquel tant il habète (?) que de ravoir sa fille; mais de prétendre de par des bravades et menaces nous forcer à faire une chose contre nostre promesse, et conséquemment contre la raison, nostre honneur et réputation, résolument nous n'en ferons rien. Et, si ledict S^r^ roy se résouldra pour ce mal à propos à ladicte rupture et à nous faire la guerre, nous procurerons de la faire aussy à luy; mais en tel cas nous nous tiendrons aussi pour désobligez de tenir plus en nostre maison ladicte princesse, et adviserons de l'envoyer là-part que trouverons convenir, pour esloigner de nous un instrument des maulx infiniz que produira ladicte guerre. Ce que de nostre part vous debvez ainsi dire ouvertement, mais avecq la discrétion requise, tant audict connestable qu'aux ministres principaux dudict S^r^ roy, et il n'y a pourquoy vous estonniez de ce que *ladicte princesse auroit escript audict S^r^ roy le jour de Pasques, parce qu'elle le faict et a commodité* de le faire à quantes fois il luy plaict *par le moyen de la femme du S^r^ de Berny, son ambassadeur.*

The Archdukes to Pecquius.

(MINUTE.) 25 avril 1610.

Cher et féal, vostre dernière du xxii^e^ nous a donné compte des propos que depuis nostre pénultième du xix^e^ de ce mois vous a tenu le président Jeannin, pour vous persuader que la princesse de Condé debvoit estre renvoyée, non-seulement pour considération d'estat, mais encore, en termes de justice, pour les causes par luy alléguées, ausquelles vous avez respondu discrètement et bien à propos qu'ayant ladicte princesse esté retenue icy à l'instance dudict S^r^ roy et prière du connestable et de la duchesse d'Angoulesme, et mesme à sa requeste propre, ausquelles nous ne pouvions donner lieu que du consentement et permission du prince, son mary, qu'il a donné avecq condition et moyennant nostre promesse de ne la renvoyer à aultre qu'à luy, nous ne pouvons maintenant la rétracter avecq honneur, si ce n'est par l'un des deux moyens touchez par noz précédentes, à sçavoir par sentence de divorce légitimement donnée, ou bien que ledict prince consente qu'elle soit renvoyée à la maison de son père; et s'il semble audict connestable et à la duchesse d'Angoulesme qu'en la poursuite de divorce se perdra beaucoup de temps, pourquoy n'ont-ils pas tenté et n'essayent-ilz le dernier, y ayant de l'apparence que

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le prince y prestera facilement son consentement, mesme posé (ce qu'ilz croyent) qu'il luy porte peu d'affection? Et s'ilz desirent que nous facions quelques offices et diligences pour l'accélération de l'un ou de l'aultre de ces moyens, nous en faisans advertir, nous nous y employerons fort volontiers, ainsi que vous avons ordonné par nostre dernière dudict xxij^e^ de leur présenter de nostre part; qui est ce que pour le présent nous sçaurions faire pour leur consolation, bien marriz que n'y pouvons d'avantage, pour la compassion qu'avons de leur juste dœuil, sans nous arrêter ny faire aulcun cas du prétexte dudict prince, que ledict S^r^ roy auroit voulu entreprendre sur son lict marital, comme de choses qui ne nous touchent aulcunement; outre ce que (comme a dict bien ledict Jeannin), combien qu'icelluy S^r^ roy auroit monstré d'estre porté à quelque affection envers ladicte princesse, il ne s'ensuivroit par là qu'elle courrust danger de son honneur. Mais nous ne sommes peu esbahiz du dire dudict président Jeannin, que tous les princes souverains consultez sur ce faict auroient esté d'avis que, pour les causes par luy alléguées et répétées en ladicte vostre, nostre promesse faicte audict prince ne seroit obligatoire, et vouldrions bien sçavoir qui sont ces princes-là. Au reste nous avons trouvé voz responses sur le surplus des arguments dudict président tant pertinentes, que n'y avons qu'adjouster présentement, sinon que, si toutes icelles nonobstant ledict S^r^ roy se résouldra à nous attaquer et faire la guerre, nous tascherons de la luy faire aussy, auquel effect nous avons faict et faisons les levées nécessaires, lesquelles nous espérons que seront prestes aussytost que les siennes, et que Dieu (protecteur de la raison) nous aydera par sa bonté.

Petition addressed to the Archdukes by the Connétable of France and the Duchesse d'Angoulême.

Avril 1610.

A Leurs Altesses Sérénissimes.

Diane, fille légitimée de France, tante de Madame la princesse de Condé, et le ducq de Montmorancy, pair et connestable de France, son père, remonstrent humblement à Voz Altesses que ladicte dame princesse de Condé s'est pleint à eux plusieurs fois par lettres et propos qu'elle a tenu à personnes de qualités et à d'autres leurs serviteurs, pour leur raporter des outrages, indignitez et mauvais traitemens qu'ell' a receu de Monsieur le prince de Condé, son mary, pendant qu'ilz estoient ensanble, et qu'elle desiroit leur représenter sur ce subiet des particularitez qu'elle n'ose commettre à des lettres, et moins encore déclarer à qui que ce soit, sinon à eux, à qui elle

estime ne debvoir rien celer, et desquelz elle se promet aussi recevoir les conseilz qu'une fille et niepce qui leur a tousiours esté très-obéissante doibt attendre de leur piété et charité, les priant à ceste occasion la retirer du lieu où elle est pour la tenir près d'eux; sur laquelle pleinte réitérée à diverses fois ilz auroient esté induictz d'envoyer vers Voz Altesses pour la (*sic*) suplier de permettre à ladicte dame princesse de les venir trouver, attendu qu'à cause de leur indisposition et ancien aage ilz ne se pouvoient transporter vers elle pour luy rendre ce debvoir d'amitié; ayans tousiours creu qu'ilz ne seroient éconduitz de ceste demande, trouvée juste par tous leurs parens, agens de conseil, ausquelz ilz en ont communiqué, néantmoins Voz Altesses en auroient fait reffus; dont ladicte dame princesse de Condé advertie auroit derechef eu recours à eux avec pleurs et gémissemens, pour les prier de continuer et répéter encor la mesme suplication avec si furieuse instance qu'elle ne soit plus retenue où elle est contre son gré, et par ce moïen empescher de poursuivre en toute liberté la séparation à laquelle elle veult tendre, en y emploïant le remède que les loix et la justice luy permettent, par l'advis et avec l'assistance de ceux qui luy appartiennent; au moïen de quoy ceux qui l'ayment chèrement et compatissent en son affliction suplient humblement Voz Altesses par ceste requeste signée de leur main, et qui leur sera présentée par le sieur des Preaux, gentilhomme envoyé exprès, leur acorder ceste juste demande après tant d'instances qu'ilz en ont faict, sans leur donner subiet de se plaindre et d'avoir recours à la protection de leur roy, pour obtenir par son moïen ce qu'ilz estiment ne leur pouvoir estre justement desnié.

DIANE DE FRANCE.

MONTMORANCY.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

26 avril 1610.

Monseigneur,

L'on ne voit que pionniers et chevaulx d'artillerie passer à trouppes par ceste ville de jour à autre, et la diligence est extrême que l'on fait icy à l'arsenal à préparer armes que l'on en veult tirer pour en armer jusques à 4,000 hommes, oultre celles jà envoyées en grande quantité à Châlons. Le roy très-chrestien continue aussy de dire résoluement et avecq beaucoup de chaleur qu'il partira d'icy vers son armée le 12 du mois prochain, et qu'il veult que le couronnement de la Royne se face le 6, auquel effect l'on travaille

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icy aux ouvrages jour et nuit, mesmes sans respect des festes ny dimanches. Sa passion, au reste, le va disposant de plus en plus à entreprendre sur les pays de Vostre Altèze *si la princesse n'est rendue*, et je sçay que ces jours passez, parlant de ce subject à un personnage qui prive avecq luy, il a dict ne croyre point que Vostre Altèze veuille accorder passage à l'armée françoise par son pays pour tirer vers Juilliers, mais d'avoir entendu qu'elle s'est desjà résolue d'en faire refus, et que cela servira de cause suffisante pour rompre. Ledict personnage respondit qu'il n'y avoit pas grande raison d'accorder passage à cette armée, et que néantmoins il pourroit estre que Vostre Altèze l'accordast pour demeurer en paix, demandant au Roy si en tel cas l'armée seroit receue en Allemagne ; à quoy il repartit en tels termes qu'il donna assez à cognoistre que, si ce prétexte de rupture venoit à manquer contre son opinion, il en trouveroit d'autres. Et à propos de ce qu'il a dict de ladicte résolution de Vostre Altèze touchant ledict passage, je sçay de bon lieu qu'il en a eu nouvelles du ducq de Bouillon, et que Vostre Altèze s'appreste à la guerre avecq démonstration de beaucoup de courage, voire que non-seulement elle ne consentira audict passage, ny n'attendra que l'on essaye de le prendre par force, mais mettra son armée en campagne, à dessein de combattre la françoise à la première occasion qui s'en présentera. Le Roy ne laisse pourtant de se flatter, disant que nous n'avons ny argent ny hommes pour luy pouvoir faire teste, quoyque ceulx de son conseil n'en jugent pas ainsy.

Le nonce apostolique discourut avant-hier de ces affaires avec *le S^r de Villeroy*, et luy dit vouloir demander audience au Roy pour luy présenter un nouveau brevet de Sa Saincteté, afin de le desmouvoir de sesdictes entreprinses, ce que *ledict de Villeroy trouva fort bon, mesmes que le nonce taschast de persuader au Roy de faire poursuivre le divorce de ladicte princesse d'avecq son mary par voye de justice*, combien qu'il disoit avoir opinion qu'il n'en feroit rien, et m'a ledict nonce promis le jour d'hier d'en traitter fort amplement avecq le Roy, en l'audience qu'il luy a desjà fait demander, et que d'un chemin il luy représentera que le *connestable n'auroit occasion de s'excuser sur quelque apparente longueur de ladicte poursuite judiciaire*, puisqu'il n'a tenu qu'à luy de la commencer plus tôt, et que, si l'on tombe en guerre, il se trouvera réduit au point *de ne voir jamais ladicte princesse sa fille*, comme aussy ledict nonce propose de luy *parler dudict passage et sonder s'il se contenteroit que* Vostre Altèze le luy accordast pour cinq ou six mille hommes, sans plus, à passer *par compagnies ou demies compagnies, comme ont faict les Suisses par*

vostre comté de Bourgogne; et je ne fauldray de tenir Vostre Altèze particulièrement advertie de ce qui se passera en ladicte audience. . . APP. XIX.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

28 avril 1610.

Monseigneur,

Plusieurs choses remarquables ont esté traittées ès discours de la dernière audience que le roy très-chrestien a donnée au nonce apostolique, selon le récit qu'il m'en a fait. En prèmier lieu, sur la remonstrance dudict nonce, conforme au brevet de Sa Majesté, que le Roy ne debvoit porter ses armes à la guerre de Juilliers, mais tenir la main à l'acheminement de quelque bon accord, puis mesmes que l'Empereur monstroit y avoir de l'inclination, comme ledict nonce disoit avoir fait apparoir par lettres de celuy résident à Prague, qu'il avoit monstrées au S^r^ de Villeroy et à autres ministres de cette cour, le Roy respondit ne vouloir empescher que l'on tentast les voyes d'accord, et que le nonce faisoit bien de s'y employer, mais que cependant il passeroit outre avecq les armes au secours de ses amys. Le nonce, après avoir protesté de la charge qu'il avoit de parler cler et en toute candeur, luy dit qu'autre chose que la guerre de Juilliers le mouvoit à faire son armée, à sçavoir le fait du prince et de la princesse de Condé, et qu'au jugement du monde il avoit des desseins sur les pays de Vostre Altèze. Il respondit en prenant Dieu à tesmoing qu'il ne desiroit pas du mal à Vostre Altèze, ny mesmes à Sa Majesté Catholique, mais vouloit aller en personne avecq son armée mettre le siége devant la ville de Juilliers. Et sur le dire du nonce que son armée seroit trop grande pour donner secours aux princes de Brandenbourg et de Neubourg, et que luy-mesme avoit autrefois dict qu'il suffisoit d'y envoyer quelques sept à huit mille hommes, le Roy repartit qu'il estoit bien vray qu'il avoit tenu telz propos, mais que lors sadicte Majesté et Vostre Altèze le traittoient en amys, au lieu qu'à présent elles luy font tant de défaveurs et desplaisirs qu'il a subject de faire une armée royale de plus de trente mille hommes pour asseurer son fait. Le nonce persista que telle armée obligeoit Vostre Altèze d'en faire aussy une pour se garantir de toute invasion, et qu'elle ne pouvoit permettre l'entrée de telles forces estrangères en ses pays. A quoy comme le Roy eust respondu qu'il n'avoit que bien peu à passer sur le pays de Vostre Altèze, et que mesmement son armée n'y logeroit jamais et n'y feroit dommage d'une seule poulle, ne pouvant croyre que Vostre Altèze luy voulust refuser ce passage, parce que cela ne se

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doibt faire entre amys, le nonce demanda s'il permettroit à Vostre Altèze de passer par la France avecq un ost de trente à quarante mille hommes, et, sur sa response que si, le nonce dit qu'à son opinion il y penseroit plus de deux fois, et que Vostre Altèze, donnant entrée à telle armée en son pays, le mettroit en évident danger. Ce qu'estant contredict par le Roy, soubs prétexte que Vostre Altèze se debvroit contenter de sa parole, et d'autant plus que son armée n'entreroit pas aux entrailles du pays de Vostre Altèze, ny mesmes ne prendroit son chemin du costé de Metz, où pourroit escheoir plus d'oustrage, ains seulement sur quelques bouts dudict pays, sans passer par aucune ville ny autre place importante, le nonce proposa que l'on pourroit en ce trouver un expédient, qu'il feist passer son armée à la disfilade et par compagnies ou demies compagnies au coup, de la façon que les Suysses venoient de passer par vostre comté de Bourgoigne. Mais la response du Roy fut que sa qualité ne souffroit pas de passer avecq une armée qui ne fust toute mise en un corps, et que Vostre Altèze n'a pas de forces pour luy pouvoir empescher ledict passage. A quoy après que le nonce eut répliqué qu'il ne sçavoit les forces que Vostre Altèze pourroit amasser, mais qu'elle feroit indubitablement tout ce qui luy seroit possible pour sa deffense, et seroit servie de soldatz de grande expérience et d'infanterie meilleure sans comparaison que la françoise, le Roy se print à user de bravades comme s'il n'y eust rien aux Pays-Bas qui luy peust résister, et dict par exprès qu'il feroit demander à Vostre Altèze ledict passage, résolu de luy faire la guerre si elle le refusoit. 'Voylà donques, a dit le nonce, comment Vostre Majesté veult attacquer l'archiducq, qui ne pense pas luy en avoir donné occasion, non plus par la rétention de ladicte princesse à Bruxelles qu'autrement;' et le Roy dit que Vostre Altèze n'avoit aucune raison de retenir ladicte princesse malgré le connestable, son père, qui la redemandoit. Sur quoy ayant le nonce allégué aucunes causes de ladicte rétention, et mesmes que le Roy l'avoit désirée avecq ledict connestable, la duchesse d'Angoulesmes et la princesse mêmes, outre l'instance en faite par ledict prince, son mary, et que Vostre Altèze n'avoit peu satisfaire à leur requeste sans la promesse par elle faicte audict prince de ne la rendre qu'à luy, de sorte que l'on avoit tort de la presser à y contrevenir, le Roy dit que c'estoient discours de Pecquius, mais que l'on n'a jamais requis Vostre Altèze de faire telle promesse. Et entendue la repartie du nonce touchant le scandale apparent qu'il y auroit du retour de ladicte princesse en France contre le gré de son mary, le Roy dit que c'estoit abus de penser qu'il procédast en ce fait par passion amoureuse, veu qu'il y avoit

de plus belles femmes en France que ladicte princesse ; mais, posé le cas qu'il en fust amoureux, il demanda si Vostre Altèze, en la retenant en captivité, ne feroit pas un acte qui luy seroit de grand despit et insupportable. Laquelle demande estant glissée par le nonce, qui se remeit à représenter au Roy qu'il ne se debvoit formaliser pour ladicte rétention jusques à ce que l'on décidast le procès de la séparation de ladicte princesse d'avecq ledict prince, son mary, le Roy respondit qu'on luy vouloit faire perdre le fruict de son armée, qui luy avoit desjà cousté sept cens mille escuz, mais qu'il n'en feroit rien ; conséquemment il reprocha au nonce que le pape vouloit tout tirer de luy et rien des Espagnols, mais qu'il n'endureroit jamais aucune indignité d'eulx, ny que l'on dist qu'il eust abandonné ladicte princesse, sa subjecte, et le bon vieillard de connestable, son père. Le nonce répliqua que Sa Saincteté use d'offices paternelz aussy bien envers sadicte Majesté catholique et Vostre Altèze qu'envers luy, pour trouver moyen de les mettre tous bien d'accord, et qu'elle seroit mesmement contente que ledict prince se retirast à Rome pour lever les ombrages résultans de son séjour ès estats de sadicte Majesté, ce que ledict nonce eut tant plus d'occasion de luy proposer que le S^{r} de Villeroy et autres, ses ministres, avoient desjà déclaré de trouver cet expédient fort propre ; mais le Roy luy dit soubdain que ladicte proposition partoit de l'eschole des Espagnols, afin de donner masque à leurs desseins, en disant que le prince est hors de leurs pays. Le nonce luy remonstra par après qu'il sembloit que faisant son armée, il vouloit braver et menacer Vostre Altèze et d'un chemin sadicte Majesté catholique, pour les constraindre à luy rendre ledict prince et ladicte princesse, ce qu'ilz ne feroient jamais par force, mesmes pour n'estre sadicte Majesté inférieure à luy, ains esgale, et de telle puissance qu'elle rendroit les événemens de la guerre fort doubteux ; mais quand ores il s'en vouldroit promettre quelque bon succès ès Pays-Bas, il debvoit considérer qu'en tel cas il se feroit aussytost beaucoup d'ennemys, signamment le roy de la Grande-Bretagne et les Estats des Provinces-Unies, qui n'auroient garde de le favoriser en la poursuyte de telles entreprinses. Là-dessus, comme il se fut autrefois jecté sur les bravades, disant qu'il se fioit en ses forces propres, et non en celles de ses voisins, et que, quant bien les Hollandois ne se déclareroient pour luy, il ne délaisseroit de passer outre à l'exécution de ses desseins, le nonce luy remonstra qu'il voyoit bien ne pouvoir rien gaigner sur luy, ains qu'il bouchoit les oreilles aux salutaires admonitions et conseils de sadicte Saincteté. Et le Roy, descouvrant son intention, dit que résoluement il s'en iroit à son armée

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le 15 du mois prochain, encore qu'il deust remettre le couronnement de la Royne jusques au mois d'octobre, et qu'il ne pourroit tenir sadicte Majesté ny Vostre Altèze pour amys si elles ne luy faisoient de bref quelque démonstration, d'amytié. Et sur l'interrogation du nonce, en quoy debvoit consister ladicte démonstration, le Roy dit tout plat que ce seroit à renvoyer ladicte princesse audict connestable, son père, moyennant quoy l'on pourroit accommoder les affaires de Juilliers, et en tout cas, si la guerre y continuoit, il fauldroit y envoyer de sa part que quattre mille hommes. Il dit aussy que dans peu de jours il auroit nouvelles du S^r^ de Preaux, enchargé de demander premièrement ladicte princesse à Vostre Altèze de la part dudict connestable, son père, et en après aussy de la sienne, comme protecteur et deffenseur de la liberté de ses subjectz, avec ferme opinion que Vostre Altèze s'y accommoderoit, ou que du moins elle clineroit les yeux pour laisser évader ladicte princesse hors de ses pays, dont il disoit qu'aucuns de ses ministres m'avoient fait ouverture, et qu'il seroit bien que j'y tinsse la main. De tous lesquelz discours ledict nonce conclud qu'il se fault tenir certain de la guerre, si ladicte princesse ne retourne en France, et que l'on ne doibt rien espargner à se pourveoir en toute haste de forces suffisantes à contrecarré ladicte armée françoise.

J'ai discouru le jour d'hier fort amplement desdictes affaires avecq *le Père Cotton, qui m'a dit qu'aux Pasques dernières le roy de France estoit en si bonne volonté de faire son salut qu'il eust facilement oublié toute affection envers ladicte princesse, ne fut qu'elle en eust rallumé le feu par ses lettres à luy escriptes, où elle le traictoit d'épithètes amoureux, comme de mon cœur, mon chevalier, et aultres semblables. Il m'a déclairé en oultre que ledict roy, ces jours passés, après luy avoir longtemps parlé du subiect de ladicte guerre, luy a enfin confessé qu'il la feroit pour faire renvoyer ladicte princesse en France*, de manière que *ledict Père dict tout ouvertement qu'il n'en fault nullement doubter, mais cercher les remèdes pour aller au-devant d'un si grand mal*, lesquelz il disoit *devoir estre promptz et soubdains, et n'en trouver aultre que de commander par Vostre Altèze que ladicte princesse se retirast secrètement en sa patrie.* Sur quoy je luy alléguay tant de raisons considérables au contraire, qu'enfin il me dict qu'il *seroit doncq à désirer que Vostre Altèze meit une puissante armée pour réprimer l'impétuosité des desseingz de par deçà, et disposer les affaires à quelque voye amiable.* Et ce matin *il m'a secrètement faict tenir l'escript allant cy-joinct, par luy dressé la nuict, pour monstrer que Vostre Altèze, en termes de conscience et d'honneur, se peult résouldre à souffrir ladicte échappade.* Mais il m'a *fort instamment faict*

supplier que, pour l'amour de Dieu et du bien public, je tinsse la main vers Vostre Altèze, que cecy ne vienne à la cognoissance du monde, ains que surtout le secret en soit bien gardé. J'ay davantage *apprins de luy que, la nuict* pénultième *passé, le roy de France, se levant du lict en sursault, commanda tout aussitost d'escrire audict de Preaux par la poste,* comme il fut fait, *qu'il n'usast de paroles brusques et tirantes à menaces dont il avoit esté enchargé* à son partement d'icy, comme aussy *j'ay sceu dudict Père que la royne de France faict continuèlement prier Dieu en beaucoup de lieux pieux, au desceu du Roy, qu'Il le veuille destourner du desseing de ladicte guerre. Ledict Père Cotton m'a dit d'abondant d'avoir aulcunement-resenty que lesdictz Estats des Provinces-Unies n'ont pas d'envie de rompre avec nous, mais que dans peu de jours il m'en informera de plus près et au certain.*

La Rocquinière vient de me dire à l'oreille que le roy de France luy a aussi donné clèrement à entendre, à son grand estonnement, que ladicte princesse sera le subiect de ladicte guerre, quelque peine qu'il dit avoir rendue pour l'en desmouvoir, mesmes par remonstrance des forces que Vostre Altèze peult assembler en peu de temps. Il m'a en oultre *donné advis en confidence qu'il seroit fort à propos, et à son jugement nécessaire, que Vostre Altèze se retirast au plus tost de Bruxelles en Anvers, ou en aultre lieu sûr, pour avoir sceu de très-bonne part et acertes que le roy de France a desseing de faire pétarder ladicte ville de Bruxelles, pour la surprendre par grand nombre de cavaillerie, qu'il fera marcher jour et nuict de la Capelle en Thiérache, disant n'y avoir monts ny rivières qui lui puissent empescher le passage,* et qu'au reste *il envoyera grande quantité d'infanterie de Mazières, par la rivière de la Meuse, jusques à Namur, soit pour favoriser son exploict ou pour aultres attentatz.* Et protesta fort et ferme ledict *la Rocquinière qu'il m'advertit de tout cecy et m'advertira encore d'aultres choses en faveur de la foy catholique, qui courra grand danger de se perdre, comme il dit,* si nous tombons en guerre.

Pecquius to the Archduke Albert.

30 avril 1610.

Monseigneur,

L'advis que j'ay donné à Vostre Altèze par mes dernières du dessein du roy très-chrestien sur vostre ville de *Bruxelles* a depuis esté fortifié par autre conforme donné à don Innigo de Cardenas, ensemble par un troisième du *chancellier de Valence (?)*, qui dict avoir apprins que le Roy *faict estat d'aller jusques à Bruxelles.* Et je ne sçay si je m'abuserois de penser que le Roy pourroit estre incité à ce dessein pour prévinir ce que j'ay dict icy selon le commande-

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ment de Vostre Altèze, qu'en cas de rupture elle se tiendra pour deschargée et désobligée de tenir plus la princesse de Condé en sa maison, et advisera de l'envoyer là-part qu'il conviendra. A ce que l'on me dict, il y aura dans fort peu de jours mille et deux cens harquebusiers à cheval à Mazières et ès environs, et petit à petit s'acheminent les autres gens de guerre vers le rendezvous, en apparence que l'armée se grossira fort, m'ayant esté rapporté de bonne part qu'elle doibt couster au Roy quattre cens soixante mille escuz par mois. Je suis adverty d'ailleurs que le roy de la Grande-Bretaigne a respondu résoluement à l'ambassadeur de France qu'il n'a pas de subject de rompre avecq Sa Majesté catholique ny avec Vostre Altèze. Les ambassadeurs des Estats des Provinces-Unies, en me rendant hier la visite, m'ont aussy parlé en telle sorte, comme s'ils affectionnoient et désiroient à bon escient la manutention de nostre trefve.

Ce matin le nonce de Sa Saincteté, résident en cette cour, m'a monstré lettre de celui résident à Prague, du 17 de ce mois, contenens que sa Majesté Impériale encline à prester l'oreille au party mentionné au commencement de mes lettres du premier de ce mois, dont Vostre Altèze a envoyé extrait à don Balthazar de Çuniga, et qu'il en espère fort bien; lesquelles lettres ledict nonce a communiquées le jour d'hier au sieur de Villeroy, qui receut aussy pareilles nouvelles de Prague, et confessa d'avoir cy-devant gousté ledict party, quand ledict nonce et moy luy en avions parlé, mais que depuis estoit survenu grand accroissement d'aigreurs, par lesquelz la disposition de la volonté du Roy, son maistre, estoit changée, et qu'il falloit penser aux affaires de la princesse de Condé, qu'il disoit estre de plus grande presse et conséquence, usant de ces mots: '*Si l'archiducq ne cède à l'opiniastreté du Roy, nous sommes tous perduz.*'

Pour faire valloir l'expédient contenu ès dernières et autres lettres de Vostre Altèze, à sçavoir que le connestable rende peine d'induire le prince, son gendre, à consentir que ladicte princesse soit renvoyée en la maison de luy connestable, ce que Vostre Altèze, estant requise d'y tenir la main, le fera volontiers, et en sorte que l'on pourra recognoistre qu'il ne tiendra aucunement à elle que ledict connestable ne reçoive ce contentement que de revoir sa fille, j'ay estimé qu'il seroit à propos d'en parler au chancelier, qui gouverne le connestable, afin d'acheminer cette pratique avecq tant plus de poids. Et de fait je viens d'en traitter avecq luy, qui, après une très-grande et très-fervente démonstration de désirer quelque voye convenable à eschever la guerre, dont il disoit

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que l'on va porter le flambeau ardent en toute la chrestienneté, s'il ne plaist à Vostre Altèze l'estouffer en se faisant quitte de la marchandise qu'elle a en dépost, m'a demandé et conjuré de luy dire, en ministre affectionné à la paix et au bien commun, si je croyois qu'il y eust apparence de pouvoir induire ledict prince audict consentement, disant que ce seroit la meilleure et plus salutaire œuvre qui ayt esté faite de cent ans. Je luy diz que le connestable n'en debvoit pas désespérer, puisqu'il croyt que ledict prince ne porte point d'affection à ladicte princesse, et que Vostre Altèze a desjà promise de ne la jamais forcer à se remettre en sa compagnie. Le chancelier retourna à me prier de luy déclarer, soubs promesse de silence, si Vostre Altèze en avoit quelque opinion, et par quelz moyens. Je respondiz qu'elle ne m'en eust pas escrit si elle eust tenue la chose pour désespérée, et qu'à mon jugement l'on debvoit embrasser ce moyen, puisque l'on tenoit celuy du procès de divorce pour trop long. Et sur sa demande conséquemment faite, comment se debvroit acheminer cet expédient, et si Vostre Altèze vouldroit bien prendre la peine de faire addresser les lettres dudict connestable audict prince, en les envoyant ouvertes à iceluy, et en quel temps l'on en pourroit avoir la response, je luy diz estimer que Vostre Altèze feroit volontiers tenir la main à la seure addresse desdictes lettres, et feroit au reste tous bons offices pour en obtenir quelque bonne réussie, avecq apparence d'avoir bientost response aux lettres par la poste. Puis il me proposa si Vostre Altèze ne vouldroit promectre d'escrire audict prince qu'à faulte de sondict consentement ou de response endéans bref jour, elle ne pourra plus retenir ladicte princesse à luy redemandée par justice, ains la renvoyera en France. Et sur ma response que je ne croyois pas que cela ce peust ou deust faire, il me demanda si les Espagnols seroient contens que ledict prince prestast son consentement audict renvoy. A laquelle demande je m'excusay de respondre cattégoriquement, disant seulement espérer que Sa Majesté ne trouveroit jà mauvais, ains auroit pour agréables les offices que Vostre Altèze feroit en cest endroit. Là-dessus il me dit ces mots : 'Je m'en vay doncques y mettre la main tout à l'heure,' et me pria derechef d'y coopérer en toute diligence, disant estimer que je debvois sçavoir davantage que je ne voulois dire.

Il me demanda en après que l'on feroit cependant des affaires de Juilliers, et, sur ma response qu'il y avoit bonnes nouvelles de Prague, il répliqua qu'il fauldroit songer à des moyens qui peussent tenir les choses en alte. Je le priay de s'esclercir sur les moyens qu'il jugeoit y estre plus propres. Et il me respondit que nous y

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penserions à loisir, mais qu'en tout cas il falloit que Vostre Altèze ne feist pas de semblant, ny de démonstration de vouloir empescher le passage par ses pays à l'armée françoise, parce que ce seroit tout gaster. Et sur ce point, estant fort pressé de s'en aller au conseil qui l'attendoit, il me dit avecq beaucoup d'ardeur et courtoisie qu'il ne manqueroit de mettre incontinent en œuvre ce que nous avions traitté, s'il estoit en son pouvoir. Je luy demanday si, après tant de poursuytes et sollicitations miennes, l'on ne feroit jamais la fin du renouvellement de la neutralité des deux Bourgoignes, et le priay de m'en donner une response absolue. Il respondit amiablement: 'Nous ferons cela et encores bien d'autres choses meilleures, voire plus d'amytié qu'il n'y eust jamais entre nous, si nous pouvons trouver moyen d'accommoder l'affaire de ladicte princesse.'

The Archdukes to Pecquius.

(MINUTE.)

3 mai 1610.

Cher et féal, nous venons de recepvoir vostre dernière du xxx^e^ du mois passé, et respondans aux demandes que vous a faict le chancelier de France, vous disons que nous ne sçaurions sinon approuver que le connestable escripve au prince de Condé, afin de permectre que la princesse, sa fille, se retire chez luy durant le procès de divorce qu'elle prétend d'intenter, et que nous croyons que, pour la raison par vous alléguée audict chancelier, il y consentira; que nous nous chargerons de sa lettre et de luy en procurer response, qu'il pourra avoir dans quinze jours à plus tarder dez le jour qu'elle partira d'icy; que nous accompagnerons volontiers sadicte lettre d'une nostre et de tous bons offices à mesme fin et effect; et que finalement nous nous faisons fortz que les Espagnolz n'empescheront que ledict prince y consente, mais qu'il fault que ledict connestable doibt adviser de luy donner asseurance que ladicte princesse s'y tiendra, en sorte qu'il ne luy sera donné aulcun subiect de s'en pouvoir outrager, parce qu'il n'y a rien qui plus le puisse et doibve amadouer et mouvoir à prester ledict consentement. Et d'aultant qu'ayans icy faict proposer aux S^rs^ de Berny et de Préaux que l'on se référa à la déclaration du pape où ladicte princesse sera séquestrée devant ledict procès sur divorce, ilz n'y ont voulu entendre, nostre intention est que vous en traictiez par deçà avecq ledict chancellier et aultres principaulx ministres du Roy, et taschiez de les en faire gouster comme d'ung expédient assez propre et le plus court qui soit à la main, puisque l'on rejecte tant la poursuite de la

cause du divorce par le long traict de temps qu'elle semble requérir, sans lesquelles toutesfois nous ne pouvons laisser partir d'avecq nous ladicte princesse, comme vous sçavez. APP. XIX.

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Despatches and documents from the Papers at Simancas.

The King of Spain to Don Inigo de Cardenas.

January 22, 1610.

Por una de v^ras^ cartas de los 30 de x^bre^ he visto el cuydado que á ese rey le dava ver el príncipe de Conde en Flandes, las diligencias que haze por que buelba, y lo demas que acerca desto dezis y avíays hecho; y[1] he holgado mucho de entenderle y la prudencía y ascertamiento con que procedéys; y aviendose el dicho príncipe querido amparar de mi, no por cesa de su servicio ni offensa de su rey, sino por guarder su honra, en caso tan grave no puedo dexar de admitírle y favorezerle en esta ocasion, y assí escrivo á nuntio lo haga, y no consienta que sele haga biolencía en nada; pero sera bien que digays á ese rey, quando y como mejor os pareciere, que esto se haze por saver que el príncipe es de su sangre, y tener ocasion de ser yo medianero entre los dos, por lo que deseo su gusto y quietud; y que, si no lo hiziera assí, me pareciera

By one of your letters, of the thirtieth of December, I have learned the concern which it has given to the King [of France] to see the Prince de Condé in Flanders, the measures which he is taking to procure his return, and all that you have said and done thereupon; it has given me much pleasure to find with what prudence and ability you have acted. The said Prince having claimed my protection, not that he might desert the service of his own Sovereign, or with a view to affront him, but for the preservation of his own honour, I cannot, in so grave a case, refuse to receive and to countenance him on this occasion. Accordingly I have written to my Envoy to do this, and not to suffer any violence to be done to him; but it will be well for you to say to the King, in the time and manner which shall seem to you most fitting, that I

[1] Against these words, in the margin, is written the word *zifra* (cypher), which leads to the conjecture that from this point to the end the despatch was intended to be written in cypher.

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que faltava á la amistad y hermandad que con el tengo; y por esta causa he holgado de que se baya á aquellos estados. Y de lo que os respondiere me avisaréis, advirtiendo que el dicho príncipe me avisó que esta con resolucion de no bolver á Francia en vida de ese rey, por la poca seguridad que tiene de sus promesas, antes desea emplearse en mi servicio, y me pide le reciba debaxo de mi protection, y yo lo hago de buena guerra, por que lo que conviene es que no se concierte con ese rey por la poca seguridad que se puede tener de sus promesas, y que no reconoçe ni agradaçe ninguna buena obra, antes, como sabeys, sin respecto de la paz y amistad, ha hecho y haze lo que le esta bien; y assí escrivo al conde de Añober, que queda en lugar del marq^{s} de Guadaleste, que con mucho secreto lo encamine con el príncipe; vos os corresponderéys con el y le yréys avisando de lo que se fuere ofreciendo, que yo le ordeno haga lo mismo con vos.

am acting thus because I know that the Prince is of his blood, and that I may seize the occasion of offering myself as a mediator between the two, from a desire for his satisfaction and tranquillity; and that if I were not to act thus, it would seem to me that I was wanting in the friendship and brotherhood which bind me to him; and on this account I am pleased that Condé has come into these estates. You will let me know his reply, remarking that the said Prince has told me that he has resolved not to return into France during the lifetime of this King, for the little security that there can be in his promises, but to employ himself in my service; and has requested me to receive him under my protection; which I do readily, because what is clear is that he does not agree with this King, because of the small confidence which it is possible to have in his promises, and that he never shows any recognition of or gratitude for any kindness, but, on the contrary, as you know, without respect for peace or friendship, has done and continues to do whatever is for his own advantage. I am also writing to the Conde de Añovar, who occupies the place of the Marquis de Guadaleste, to manage this in great secrecy with the Prince; you will communicate with him, and inform him of whatever may occur; I will

send him orders to do the same with you. APP. XX.

Report of the Session of the Spanish Council of State, February 13, 1610.

(EXTRACT.)

Señor,

Las cartas que V. Mᵈ a visto de los señores archiduques Alberto y Leopoldo, marqueses de Guadaleste y Spinola, príncipe de Conde y don Ynigo dẽ Cardenas, contienen en suma lo que se sigue:

El señor archiduque Alberto dize que, por que don Ynigo de Cardenas abra avisado á V. Mᵈ de la retirada del príncipe de Conde á aquellos estados, dirá solo como en entrando en ellos le pidió licencia para yr á Bruselas y se la dió solo para la princessa, su muger, por no dar ocasion de quexa al rey de Francia; y el passó adelante, y embiandole el dicho rey á pedir que se le entregasse, se escusó con que le havia mandado salir de sus estados, que el dicho príncipe se fué á Colonia y de allí se vino á Bruselas, porque el rey de Francia le embió á dezir que queria mas tenerle allí que en otra parte.

El señor archiduque Leopoldo refiere en carta de 14 dezᵉ de Julieres que la semana passada le

Sire,

The letters which your Majesty has seen from the Lords Archdukes Albert and Leopold, the Marquesses de Gaudaleste and Spinola, the Prince de Condé, and Don Inigo de Cardenas, contain in sum as follows:

The Lord Archduke Albert writes that Don Inigo de Cardenas having advised your Majesty of the retirement of the Prince de Condé into these estates, he will merely say that upon his entrance the Prince requested permission to go to Brussels, which was granted only to the Princess, his wife, to avoid giving occasion of complaint to the King of France; that the Prince passed on, and that the said King having sent to demand his extradition, the Archduke excused himself by saying that he had ordered him to leave his estates, that the said Prince had fled to Cologne, and from thence had come to Brussels, because the King of France had sent to say that he had rather know that he was there than elsewhere.

The Lord Archduke Leopold reports in his letter of the fourteenth of December, from Ju-

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havia llegado allí un huesped que nunca sperava, es á saber el príncipe de Conde, que havia salido de Francia con su muger y muy pocos criados, y la causa haver puesto el rey de Francia los ojos en la princessa, su muger, para aprovecharse della, amenazandole con prision, que havia llegado allí con mucha pesadumbre de su alma, y dicho la necessidad en que estava y que tenia resolucion de no bolver á Francia en vida deste rey, y de vivir y morir en servicio de V. Md ó de la casa de Austría, y assí le pidió encomendasse su protecion á V. Md para que le reciviesse debaxo de su amparo, y que, no desgustandose V. Md dello, estava resuelto de presentarse en propria persona ante V. Md que le ve que esta muy offendido de su rey, y que jamas se . . . . de tan grande indignidad; y supplica el Sor archiduque á V. Md le avise de lo que le a de responder.

El marquis de Guadaleste acerta que el príncipe de Conde embió de Landresi, pays de Enos, un criado con carta al Sr archiduque Alberto, acusandole de su llegada y de la princesa, su muger, que Su Alta no le quiso ver . . . . la carta por no encontrarse con el rey de Francia, y le remitó al duque de . . ., goverliers, that last week there arrived an unexpected guest, namely, the Prince de Condé, who had left France with his wife and a very few servants, because the King of France had cast his eyes upon the Princess, his wife, to have his will of her, threatening him with imprisonment; that he had come in much trouble of mind, had made known the necessity under which he was placed, and declared his determination not to return into France during the lifetime of this King, but to live and die in the service of your Majesty or of the House of Austria; that he besought the Archduke to recommend him to the protection of your Majesty, to be received under your shield, adding that if your Majesty did not disapprove, he was resolved to present himself in person before your Majesty, who will see how much he has been injured by his own Sovereign, and that he [can] never [forget] so great an indignity; to all which the Archduke beseeches your Majesty to let him know what he must reply.

The Marquis de Guadaleste declares, that the Prince de Condé sent from Landrecy, in the Province of Hainault, a servant with a letter to the Lord Archduke Albert, to acquaint him with his arrival, and that of the Princess, his wife; that his Highness would not look at . . . . the letter, that he

nador de aquel pays, que luego llegó un archero de parte del dicho rey, pidiendo á Su Alt[a] se mandasse entregar las personas del príncipe y de todos los que con el yban, con termino arrogante, y Su Alt[a] se escusó con dezir que le havia pedido passo para Breda y se le havia dado; que otro dia fué el embaxador de Francia á Marimont, donde havia llegado el capitan de la guarda de aquel rey, y entrambos procuraron que Su Alt[a] mandasse darles al príncipe y los que le acompañavan, sin nombrar á la princessa, y les respondió que ya havia movido deste parte por su tierra y en su . . .; que el marquis le havia supplicado se serviesse de amparar al príncipe, pues la ocasion de su honra y que el rey de Francia amparava en su reyno todos los delinquentes de España, y de allí que por buenas obras no se gañava nada col el, y que, si sabria usar de aquella ocasion podria ser de mucho. . . .

might not embroil himself with the King of France, but referred it to the Duc de [Arschot], governor of that province; that forthwith arrived an archer on the part of the said King, demanding arrogantly of his Highness that there should be delivered to him the persons of the Prince and of all those that accompanied him; that his Highness excused himself by saying that the Prince having asked leave to pass through on his way to Breda, he had granted it to him; that the other day the ambassador of France was at Marimont, where had arrived also the captain of the guard of the said King, and that both of them importuned his Highness to deliver to them the Prince and those who accompanied him, without naming the Princess; he replied to them that he had already left for his territory and in his . . . ; that the Marquis had entreated him to afford shelter to the Prince, since it was a question that touched his honour, and that the King of France sheltered in his realm all the criminals of Spain; that moreover by good offices nothing was gained with this King, but that if good use were made of this occasion, it might be of much [service]. . . .

El príncipe de Conde scrive á V. M[d] que haviendole sido . . . . por la salud de su vida y de su honra, salir de Francia, no a podido escusar de dar cuenta dello

The Prince de Condé writes to your Majesty, that having been compelled, in order to save his life and his honour, to leave France, he cannot excuse him-

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á V. Md y hazer testimonio de quanta reconoscido esta de la mucha honra que a recivido de los ministros de V. Md, á quien supplica humilmente que, usando de su acostumbrada clemencia reciva debaxo de su protection aquellos affligidos, como lo esperava de la grandeza de V. Md, siendo, como es, el mayor rey del mundo, y remitiendose á los marqueses Spinola y Guadaleste que representaran á V. Md particularmente sus actiones y la affection que tiene á su real servicio supplica á V. Md tenga por bien de creerle.

El Marques Spinola apunto lo mismo que dicho el de Guadaleste. . . .

Don Ynigo de Cardenas refiere que se le dizen es grande el cuydado que al rey de Francia le da ver el príncipe de Conde en Flandes. . . .

Y haviendose visto todo lo susdicho en el consejo. . . , se votó en la forma que se sigue:

El commor mayor de Leon: que, segun lo que se colige de que en Flandes havia y inclinacion y deseo de acordar el príncipe de Conde con el rey de Francia, y la embaxada que el embió ultimamente al Sor archide para que se le entregasse, ó, por lo menos, le echasse de

self from rendering account of this to your Majesty, and from showing his gratitude for the great honour which he has received from your Majesty's ministers; he humbly beseeches you, that, using your accustomed clemency, you would receive under your protection these afflicted persons; it is what he hopes from the greatness of your Majesty, whom he regards as the greatest sovereign in the world; and referring himself to the Marquises Spinola and Guadaleste, who will represent particularly to your Majesty his actions and the affection which he has for your Royal service, he beseeches your Majesty to deign to believe him.

The Marquis Spinola makes report to the same effect as the aforesaid Marquis de Guadaleste. . . .

Don Inigo de Cardenas reports that it is commonly rumoured that the King of France is in great concern at finding that the Prince de Condé is in Flanders. . . .

And all the above having been reviewed in council . . . . , votes were pronounced to the following effect:

The Commendador Mayor of Leon: According to what he gathers from Flanders of the inclination and desire there is to reconcile the Prince de Condé with the King of France, and of the embassy which the latter has sent to the Lord Archduke to urge that the Prince may be

sus estados y le embiase á la princesa, esta bien lo que se ha ordenado acerca de la retirada del príncipe á Milan, y solo queda si se le podria ajudar con alguna cosa para la jornada y despachar correo al S^r^ archiduq. con el dupplic^do^ del despacho que llevó el ultimo correndo, y siendo la causa de las amenazas de roturas tan injusta como es, no entregarle un hombre que no solo no le a offendido, pero a sido forçado retirarse, huyendo de la violencia con que le queria quitar la honra; en caso tan grave, no puede creer que sea su intento hazer lo que dize, sino que piensa que, mediante aquellas bravatas, á de salir con lo que pretende; . . . Y por eso conviene que el príncipe de Conde salga de Flandes y no vaya á Roma, sino á Milan, pues el S^r^ archiduque cumplirá con echarle de sus estados, y no será cosa nueva ampararle V. M^d^, pues el Emperador, nuestro señor, de gloriosa memoria, en tiempo del rey Francisco, amparó al duque de Borbon, y le fió su exercito; al S^r^ archiduque será bien scrivir con resolution que V. M^d^ quiere que el Conde se passe á Milan, por la obligacion que le corre de ampararle en causa tan justa, haviendose querido valer de su protection, porque assí como no es bien hazer supercheria, lo es no sufrirla; y lo será avisar al conde de Castro de lo que se haze para que, si el papa le hablare en ello, le muestre la

given up to him, or at least be driven from his estates, and the Princesse be sent to him, he thinks the arrangement a good one which has been made for the retirement of the Prince to Milan; and only wishes to know whether it be possible to help him in any way on his journey, and to send a courier to the Lord Archduke, with a duplicate of the despatch which arrived by the last messenger; and since the cause of the threatenings of a rupture is so unjust, he would not deliver up a man who not only has not offended, but has been forced to withdraw himself to avoid the violence which was sought to be done to his honour. In so grave a case he cannot believe that the King of France can intend to do what he says, but believes that he thinks to obtain by such bravado as this that to which he aspires. For these reasons he is of opinion that the Prince de Condé should leave Flanders, and should not go to Rome, but to Milan. Thus the Lord Archduke will succeed in getting him to leave his estates; and it will not be a new thing for him to be protected by your Majesty, since the Emperor, our Lord, of glorious memory, in the time of King Francis, protected the Duc de Bourbon, and entrusted him with the command of his army. It would be well to write to the Lord Archduke to the effect that your Majesty has resolved that the

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justificacion con que V. Md procede; y á don Ynigo de Cardenas se podrá scrivir que procure tender las particularidades del yntento de los huguenotes, que haze el condestable Memoransi, suegro del de Conde, y sus deudos y amigos, y avise le todo; y, aunque sea assí todo lo que a dicho, todavia le parece que conviene prevenir el estado de Milan lo necessario para su defensa, y aca prover les fortalezas que caen á la fronteira de Francia de lo que an menester para su seguridad, y dar priessas á la milicia, porque el saver que todo esta arecavedo (?) le hará perder el deseo de acometerlos y la esperança salir con su yntento.

El duque de Lerma: que V. Md no puede negar su asistencia y favor al príncipe de Conde, en causa tan pia y justificada, pues no a hecho offensa á su rey, ni pudo usar de termino de mayor

Prince de Condé shall pass on to Milan; both because you feel bound to protect in so just a cause a man who has sought your protection, and because it is unbecoming either to employ or to endure dictation. It would be well also to advise the Count de Castro of what has been done, in order that, if the Pope should mention the matter to him, he may be able to show the justice of your Majesty's proceedings. Don Inigo de Cardenas should be instructed to procure particular information of the intentions of the Huguenots, of the course which may be taken by the Connétable de Montmorency, father-in-law of the Prince de Condé, and his kinsfolk and friends; and to send word of everything. And, while doing all this, it would be well to furnish the State of Milan with all that is necessary for its defence; and in this country to provision the fortresses which are on the frontier of France with all that is necessary for complete security; and to press on the levies for the army, in order that the King of France, when he finds all these precautions taken, may give up the wish to attack us, and the hope of succeeding in his design.

The Duke of Lerma said that your Majesty could not possibly refuse your assistance and favour to the Prince de Condé in a cause so pious and just; not only has he not wronged his King,

respecto que huyr de su violencia por no recevir una deshonra tan grande que no abra Frances que no lo tenga por justo, y por injusto lo que aquel Rey a hecho. . . . Y assí á esto no ay que responder sino poner, como a dicho el comm^or^ mayor, en orden los fronteros y milicia. Á don Ynigo de Cardenas se deven dar gracias por no aver querido entrar en plática con el rey de Francia sobre lo del príncipe de Conde, y del cuydado con que procura penetrar lo que passa, y avisar de lo que conviene al conde de Añober, y encargarle tenga muy buena correspondencia con el, y el dicho conde que tenga lo mismo con don Ynigo, y que pregunte al príncipe de Conde de que persona suya se podrá fiar don Ynigo en Paris, de quien tenga entera confiança. . . . Parecele muy bien que se despache correo á Flandes con el dupp^do^ del ultimo despacho y declaracion de la voluntad de V. M^d^, y que se avise al conde de Fuentes de todo, y se le encargue mucho que, llegando allá el príncipe de Conde, le reciva, honre y acaricie. . . .

but he could not possibly employ a more respectful mode of proceeding than to withdraw from his violence, lest he should sustain a dishonour so great that there is no other Frenchman who would not hold him justified, and that which the King has done unjust. . . . He can but urge, like the Commendador Mayor, that the frontiers and the army be put in readiness. Don Inigo de Cardenas should be thanked for refusing to negotiate with the King of France on the subject of the Prince de Condé, and for the care with which he is obtaining information of what goes on and keeping the Count d'Añovar informed of it. He should be recommended to keep up a close correspondence with him, and the Count aforesaid with Don Inigo; he should request the Prince de Condé to designate some one, enjoying his entire confidence, whom Don Inigo may trust at Paris. . . . It seems very good to despatch a courier to Flanders with the duplicate of the last despatch and declaration of your Majesty's pleasure; at all events the Count de Fuentes must be informed, and strict injunctions given him that on the arrival of the Prince de Condé, he should receive him, honour and compliment him. . . .

El condestable de Castilla: . . . El príncipe de Conde es la segunda persona en Francia, des-

The Constable of Castille: . . . The Prince de Condé is the second personage in France, after

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pues del Delfin, y esto el amparo de V. Md, el apoyo del partido de los huguenots, la autoridad y adherencias de su suegro, es causa de poner en cuydado al rey de Francia; y unque no sea motivo bastante para romper, los reyes passados, quando a havido inquietud en aquel Reyno, an tomado por remedio el echar la guerra fuera del, porque con esto se ocupan los ociosos y inquietos, y mudan de pensamiento. . . . Lo resuelto está muy bien, pues importa libertad de los reynos, ni por gentileza de rey puede V. Md, desamparar al príncipe de Conde, aunque en ampararle no huviera las conveniencias que puede haver. . . .

El duque de Infantado: que siempre creyó que avia de dar cuydado al rey de Francia la retirada del príncipe de Conde, y tanto mas no teniendo otra culpa que huyr de su violencia, action que nadie puede condenar . . . . de bravatas no haze casso, pues no es verissimill que quiera mover guerra por causa tan injusta. . . .

El duque de Alburquerque se conformó con el comendador major de Leon, y con el duque de Lerma.

V. Md lo mandará ver y proveer lo que mas fuere servido.

the Dauphin; and the protection of your Majesty, the support of the Huguenot party, the authority and connections of his father-in-law, furnish cause of trouble to the King of France. There is no sufficient ground here for a rupture; but former sovereigns, when affairs have been unsettled in that kingdom, have sought relief by recourse to foreign wars, in order to find occupation for the idle and unquiet spirits among their subjects, and to divert the course of their thoughts. . . . The resolution is an excellent one, for it concerns the liberty of these realms; nor could royal courtesy permit your Majesty to withdraw your protection from the Prince de Condé, whatever inconvenience may result from protecting him. . .

The Duke de l'Infantado: Has always been of opinion that the retirement of the Prince de Condé was enough to disquiet the King of France, and all the more since he is guilty of no fault but flight from violence, an act which none can condemn. . . . He makes no account of bravadoes, since it is not likely that there can be any intention of making war in so unjust a cause.

The Duke d'Alburquerque agrees with the Commendador Mayor of Leon, and with the Duke of Lerma.

Your Majesty will give orders for the seeing and providing what further may please you.

Instructions sent to Don Iñigo de Cardenas by the King of Spain.

February 21, 1610.

Quedo entendido todo lo que dezis en algunas de vuestras cartas, de los 27 y 28 del pasado, á proposito de las cosas del príncipe de Conde, y agradezco os mucho la puntualidad con que me avisays de lo que en ellas se ofrece, el no aver querido entrar en plática con ese rey sobresta materia, y el cuydado con que procurays penetrar lo que passe y advertir de lo que conviene al conde de Añover, que todo me ha parecido muy bien, y os encargo lo continuays, y que assí mismo hagays las diligencias possibles para entender las particularidades del intento de los ugonotes, y de lo que hazen el condestable Memoransi, suegro del de Conde, y sus deudos y amigos, porque hasta ahora no se sabe que tengays inteligencia con ninguno dellos; y en lo demas, he resuelto que el príncipe de Conde salga de Flandes, y que ne vaya á Roma, sino á Milan, por la obligacion que me corre de ampararle en causa tan justa, aviendose querido valer de mi protecion; y en esta conformidad escrivo, sobre ello, al archiduque . . . . para que lo haga poner luego en execucion, pues el cumplir con hecharle de sus estados. Vos, siguiendo la opinion que teneys, mostraréys desear mucho la composicion, y, de secreto, procuraréis lo contrario,

I have heard all that you say in your letters of the 27th and 28th ult. on the subject of the affairs of the Prince de Condé. I am much obliged to you for the punctuality with which you keep me informed of all therein contained, for not having entered into discussion with the King on this matter, and for the care you are taking in finding out all that passes, and keeping the Count d'Añovar informed of what is necessary. All this seems to me very good, and I charge you to continue this course. You will also use all diligence to learn particularly the intentions of the Huguenots, and the purpose of the Connétable Montmorency, father-in-law of the Prince de Condé, and of his family and friends, for it is not yet known whether you are in communication with them. For the rest, I have determined that the Prince de Condé shall leave Flanders, and go, not to Rome, but to Milan; for I am obliged to protect, in so just a cause, a man who has expressed his desire to put himself under my protection; conformably to this I have written to the Archduke on the subject to act at once; he will thus have compelled him to leave his estates. You, in accordance with the opinion you express, will appear to desire

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por los medios y traças que me prometo de vuestra prudencia y manera; y yréys dandome quenta muy amenudo de lo que fuere ocurriendo, y, en caso que os hablaren apretadamente de parte deste rey sobre lo del entregar al dicho príncipe, podréys responder lo que desseays la composicion, pero que lo demas seria cosa nunca vista, majormente no estando capitulado en la paz que se hubiesen de entregar los subditos de una parte á otra, y á esto añadiréys que no haya habido hombre de aca á quien este rey no aya recivido y amparado hasta los traydores, y que, quando se le han hablado en esto, ha respondido que no puede faltar á sus amigos.

much an accommodation, and in secret you will labour in the opposite direction by the ways and means which I promise myself from your prudence and skill; and you will render me a very minute account of all that occurs; and in case the delivering up of the Prince should be urged upon you in behalf of the King, you can reply that you desire an accommodation; but that to do more would be a thing unheard of, especially as there is no stipulation in the treaty for the delivery of the subjects of the one country to the other. You will add that there has never been a man flying from here whom this King has not taken under his protection, even traitors, and that when it has been mentioned to him, he has replied that he could not fail his friends.

Don Inigo de Cardenas to the King of Spain.

(EXTRACT.) Paris, March 14, 1610.

. . . . Pero dexando las cosas de estado á una parte, mirando solo á la voluntad, temo tanto la pasion de amores y beo á este rey tan ciego y tan arrosado por la princesa de Conde, que no sé que dezia á V. M^d^, y si allo muchas razones para tener por segura la paz mirando las cosas en razon de estado, allo muchas mas para tener por cierta la guerra en razon de amores. . . . Y sino vee á V. M^d^ prevenido, y

. . . . But, setting aside questions of State policy, and looking only at his personal inclination, I am so afraid of the passion of love, and I can see that this King is so blinded and so infatuated for the Princesse de Condé, that I know not what to say to your Majesty about it; and if I find many reasons for holding peace to be secure in looking at affairs on the ground of policy, I find many more for holding war to be

que en lo de Flandes ay algo de mas deffensa y resolucion in hazerla, tengo por cierto se arrojara, y si ahora no lo haze, es por andar provando si sus trazas y negociaciones con el archiduque se saben bien, para que le den la dama (tambien la deven detener) y ver como se pone lo de Alemania y pláticas de Italia; pero, que salgan ó no salgan estas cosas, si el no be lo de Flandes mas guardado, su intencion ba, ó con una presteza de cavalleria entrarse hasta Bruselas, si puede, y tomar las plaças que desea, y dallas si dan la dama á los parientes, y sino seguir este designio, dandole por color contra la voluntad de sus padres la tienen presa; y no haga V. M^d^ caso de tener el príncipe de Conde, que eso mira á lo de estado de que no hago caudal en la presente; y para mejor aclararme, digo que entiendo si le diesen á princesa de Conde daria el Delfin, y á todos los demas sus hijos, ajudame á tener que este rey se arroja por sus amores, que por ellos tiene muy gastada la salud, ha perdido el sueño, y ha dado causa de parecellos á algunos que baria: siendo hombre que quiere estar siempre con compañia, se está dos y tres oras solo, paseando melancoliquisimo; dizen despiertó, algunas vezes, de noche, ablando: mi princesa, con la serenissima infanta, y diziendo el rey de España, otras vezes el conde de Fuentes, y otras el

certain on the ground of love. . . . . If he does not see that your Majesty is on your guard, and that there are in Flanders greater means and greater resolution for defence, I hold it to be certain that he will declare war; if he has not done so already, it is that he may try what effect will be produced by his intrigues and negotiations with the Archduke to obtain the restoration of the lady (for which reason she should be kept all the more securely), and that he may watch the direction which the affairs of Germany and of Italy are taking; but whether that comes to anything or no, if he does not see Flanders better guarded, his intention is to make a dash with his cavalry, and penetrate, if he can, as far as Brussels, take what towns he can, and restore them if the lady is restored to her kinsfolk; if not, to follow his design up, on the pretext that she is detained contrary to the wishes of her kinsfolk. Let your Majesty attach no importance to the having the Prince de Condé in your keeping (for reasons of State policy on which I do not enter in the present despatch). To make my meaning clearer, I may say that I am informed that if the Princesse de Condé were surrendered to him, he would give up the Dauphin and all his other sons; which makes me believe that this King will risk everything for his passion;

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ambaxador de España; llama á oras muy extraordinarias poetas, y encierrase á solas con un criado del príncipe de Conde que le siguió hasta la huyda de Flandes, y quando llegó allí, dixó que no podrá pasar con el sin licencia del Rey; y podria decir á V. Md grand bariedad de cosas que ajudan á lo que boy diciendo, pero, por lo que he dicho, juzgo verá V. Md lo que de lo presente entiendo.

his health is much affected by it, he has lost his sleep, and some people believe he is losing his reason; he, who is so fond of society, now spends two or three hours at a time alone, pacing dejectedly backward and forward. I am told that at night he sometimes wakes up suddenly, with the words 'My Princess,' or in addressing the Infanta, or the King of Spain, or at other times the Count of Flanders, or the Spanish Ambassador. He sometimes sends for the most celebrated poets, and shuts himself up alone with a servant of the Prince de Condé who followed him in his flight into Flanders, but has since returned here, saying that he could not accompany him further without the King's permission. I might say much to your Majesty in confirmation of what I have told; but, from what I have said already, your Majesty will understand my present intention.

The Same to the Same.

March 18, 1610.

Haviendo este rey y otros procurado persuadir generalmente que V. Md se quiere servir del príncipe de Conde contra el Delfin, e dicho que entyendo que no dando causas que obliguen á V. Md á ello, no oyrá esta plática ni acudirá en ella al príncipe de Conde; afirmanme personas

This King and other persons having sought to make it generally believed that your Majesty wishes to make use of the Prince de Condé against the Dauphin, I have said that I was certain, that if no reason was given to your Majesty which might compel you to it, you would have

que lo saben que el Rey se espanta y se huelga de oyr esto.

A mi me an movido dos cosas á hablar dèsta manera: la primera el proceder de la Reina para con V. Md y su cristiandad porque, aunque esto no es publico, no tyene para ello inconveniente lo que yo digo: lo segundo de tener al Rey para que el miedo de temer lleva V. Md este fin no le necesite arrojarse. Si V. Md mandare que mude de plática en este punto, lo haré. . . .

Estos dias havia movido plática con el nuncio, encaminando que hablase á este rey, y el me salió á ello muy bien, y a lo hecho. Dice me lo halló muy alterado de las cosas de Alemania, y dandole muchas quexas del papa, que acudia y se mostrava muy declarado por V. Md y la casa de Austria, que respondiendole el nuncio que era esta causa de la religion catolica y el papa no podia ni devia hazer menos, que el replicó que no era guerra de religion, sino guerra de estado, y que esse era el fin que se llevava y no otro. El nuncio me encarece que le respondió á esto muchas cosas y con resolucion, que se metyó el Rey muy á dalle quesas de que V. Md no salia á dalle al prín-

no share in any such scheme, and would render no aid to the Prince de Condé. I am told by well-informed persons that the King is astonished and rejoiced at hearing this.

Two motives have induced me to speak thus: first, the conduct of the Queen in regard to your Majesty, and her Christian life, (this despatch not being public, there is no inconvenience in my mentioning this); the second is, the wish to prevent the King from being driven to extremities through fear of seeing your Majesty adopt such a scheme. If your Majesty orders me to change my course of action in this particular, I will do so. . . .

Within the last few days I had arranged with the Nuncio that he should seek an audience of the King; this has succeeded well, and he has had one. He reports that he found him much agitated about affairs in Germany; and complaining bitterly of the Pope, for showing himself strongly in favour of your Majesty and the House of Austria. Upon the Nuncio's replying that it was the cause of the Catholic religion, and that the Pope neither could nor would do less, he replied that this was not a religious war, but a State war; that this was the aim of it, and no other. The Nuncio boasts that he replied to this at length and with resolution. He says that the King then began to

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cipe de Conde, estyrando este sentymiento, y encareciendo que havia encargado á su embaxador ablase en ello tan cortesmente que esto vastara para obligar, que nada havia aprovechado, que de las personas que estavan en Francia disobedientes á V. Md, Antonio Perez nunca se lo havian pedido, que un hijo de don Antonio de Portugal, que el no lo havia admitido sino la Reyna madre y Rey el su antecessor, que le tocava el reyno de Navarra y se lo tenian, y que se le havia procurado quitar el de Francia, y que le havian querido matar á el y á sus hijos, quando los negocios del mariscal de Biron, que siempre andaban moviendo algo contro el. El nuncio afirmó que havia respondido á todo, y dichóle ultimamente que el no savia como podia este Rey escusarse de la asistencia que havia dado á Olandeses; replicó á esto que por esso havia hecho hazer la tregua, por dar gusto á V. Md y al archiduque, y remató ultimamente con que el no podió dejar de assistir y ayudar á sus amigos, y assí se armaba para acudir á los protestantes y hechar de Juliers al archiduque Leopoldo. Que le replicó el nuncio que no podria acudir á esto sin tocar en Flandes y que esto tendira inconveniente, pues yendo armado se ecatarian de dalle el passo; que respondió que no lo pediria porque el se le hasia que era poco la tyerra que havia de atra-

complain bitterly of your Majesty, who would not deliver up to him the Prince de Condé; he dwelt long upon this subject, and made much of having charged his ambassadors to speak on this subject with so much courtesy that it ought to have been sufficient to oblige you to yield, but that nothing had been done; as to the persons who were in France in disobedience to your Majesty, Antonio Perez had never been demanded of him; and as to the son of Don Antonio of Portugal, it was not he who had received him, but the Queen-Mother, and the King his predecessor; that when the throne of Navarre fell to him, he was kept out of it, and an attempt was made to deprive him of that of France; that his life and those of his sons had been sought, at the time of the affair of the Maréchal de Biron; that endeavours were always being made to bring him into trouble. The Nuncio assures me that he replied to all this, and said finally, that he did not see how the King could make excuse for having given succour to the Dutch. The King replied that, as to this, he had compelled them to make peace, to please your Majesty and the Archduke, and ended by saying that he could not refuse to assist his friends, and that he was now arming to aid the Protestants in expelling from Juliers the Archduke Leopold. The Nuncio replied that

vesar de Flandes. Que representandole el nuncio no convenia esto que era perturbar la paz, le replicó que el estava resuelto, y diciendole que advirtyese que dirian que era por tomar á la princesa de Conde, respondió que el estaba obligado á mirar por la princesa que era su subdita, y que estava presa y oprimida por que ella no queria estar allí, y que esta. era causa del condestable, que le pensava assistir y ayudar, pues estava obligado á quello. Que el vió con mucha resolucion en este particular y tanta que, aunque le replicó con la razon y razones que ay para ello, no servir sino de alterable y que se mostrase muy furioso, descubriendo su pasion, rematando con decir que no havia de faltar á cosa tan precissa, y que, aunque pensava primero hazer la coronacion de su muger, pensaba luego yr en persona á estotro.

he could not help them without crossing Flemish territory, and that this would be inconvenient, since if he appeared in arms, there would be a difficulty made about allowing him to cross it. He replied, that he would not ask permission, since the Flemish territory which in that case he should have to cross was very small. The Nuncio pointed out the inconvenience of thus disturbing peace; he answered that he was resolved, and when the Nuncio represented that it would be said he was doing this for the purpose of seizing the Princesse de Condé, he said he was obliged to take up the cause of the Princess, who was his subject, and who was imprisoned and oppressed because she did not like to stay where she was; it was the cause of the Connétable, whom he felt bound to aid and support. The Nuncio found him quite determined to take this course, insomuch that, though he answered him with very good reasons, they only irritated him; he displayed violent anger, and ended by passionately declaring that he would not fail to carry out the plan resolved upon, and that although he intended first to make arrangements for his Queen's coronation, he meant to set out in person afterwards to carry out this other business.

Este nuncio muestra desear servir á V. M^{d} y lo hecho dever en muchas cosas, y el me dice las que sabe, y ayer se acavó

The Nuncio appears inclined to be useful to your Majesty; I have requested him to make enquiry about various matters, and

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esta plática diciendome supplicase á V. Md se armase porque, si lo hazia, le parecia se excusaria la guerra y que de otra manera a de dar este rey alguna occasion que obligue á V. Md á no podella escusar. Son estas las mismas palabras que con el a passado.

he tells me all that he knows. Yesterday, at the end of our conversation, he asked me to entreat your Majesty to arm, for that, if you would do this, there was a chance of averting war, but that otherwise this King would find some occasion which would make it impossible for your Majesty to avert it. These were his very words.

The Same to the Same.

March 27, 1610.

Señor, obligan algunos avisos á no solo dar cuenta á V. Md de lo que dizen, pero de las particularidades que en ellos concurren. Estando este rey con una de sus damas de quien de presente anda muy picado, le dixó ella que rumores heran estos que parecia que se metía ahora en guerra, y el se rió y dixó: tanta gana tengo de guerra como de hecharme á la mar á nadar. Y le replicó la dama: para que hazia esto; y dixó que el tenía cierta la paz quando la quisiese, y que por un millon se queria hazer estimar y casar á su Delfin con hija de V. Md. Y replicando ella, que tambien querria coger á la princesa de Conde, le dixó no impidirá el hazer eso estotro.

Sire, Certain information compels me to report to your Majesty not only what is here rumoured, but also the particulars which are mentioned. The King being with one of his ladies, of whom he is at present very fond, she told him that it was currently rumoured that he was about to make war; to which he replied, 'I have as much wish to make war as to throw myself into the sea that I may swim.' The lady rejoined, 'Beware of making war;' and he said that he was sure of having peace as long as he chose, and that, for many reasons, he wished to make himself respected, and to marry his Dauphin to the daughter of your Majesty. And when she replied that still he wanted to carry off by force the Princesse de Condé, the King said, 'The one will not prevent the other.'

Con las mismas verá que antes muestra este rey estar apasionado por la princesa de

By this you will see that the King still shows himself passionately devoted to the Prin-

Conde, y siempre hablando que es justo dalla á su padre; y el condestable y Madama de Angulema an hablado en esto al que aquí serve al archiduque, y despues de haver dicho delante de otros el condestable lo que digo á V. Md, me dice el que sirve al archiduque le apartó el condestable y le dixó estava reconocidissimo de la . . . . que su hija recivia y muy contento de ver la in Flandes, y se holgava mas de bella sirviendo á Su Alteza la infanta que de tenella en su casa, que le pedia fuese secreto el velle.

Despues desto el Rey haze instancia al condestable vaya por su hija, y el se escusó, y estos dias a apretado el Rey á la Reyna scriba á la Alteza de la infanta le embie á la princesa para su coronacion, y por el confessor del Rey procuró la Reyna escusarse describir á Su Alteza la infanta, diciendo que parecia muy mal ser ella tercera que la infanta no lo hazia; el Rey a entrado en grandissima colera, dice que la Reyna no sea de coronar, ni sea de hazer cosa que la degustó; en la Reyna . . . . sentymiento y lagrimas por esta causa y por apretar el Rey con seguir su gusto con la dama de la Reyna de que si cuenta á V. Md.

cesse de Condé, saying always that it is only fair to restore her to her father; the Connétable and Madame d'Angoulême have spoken of it to the person who acts as the Archduke's agent here, and this envoy related to me that, after having said before witnesses what I report to your Majesty, the Connétable took him aside and told him that he was very sensible of the [honour] which his daughter received, and quite content to have her in Flanders; that he had rather see her in the service of her Highness the Infanta than have her in his house. He begged him to keep their interview a secret.

Since this the King has been urging the Connétable to go and demand his daughter. He has excused himself; and within these few days the King has tried to induce the Queen to write to her Highness the Infanta to send the Princess for her coronation; the Queen, through the King's Confessor, has begged to be excused, saying that it did not seem to her to be fitting to appear, as a third party, and risk the indignity of a refusal from the Infanta. The King fell into a violent rage, and declared that the Queen should not be crowned; and that he would have nothing done to displease him. The Queen shed tears, and was much distressed, both at this and at the ardour with which the King is pursuing

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one of her ladies; of which I spoke to your Majesty.

The Same to the Same.

April 5, 1610.

Señor, V. Md, por su carta de 21 de febrero, me manda entender el intento de los ugonotes y lo que haze el condestable, suegro del principe de Conde, y sus deudos y amigos, y servise V. Md de decírme no se sabe que hasta ahora tenga intelligencia con ninguno dellos.

Sire, Your Majesty, by your letter of the 21st of February, requires me to find out the intentions of the Huguenots, and the proceedings of the Connétable, the father-in-law of Condé, as well as of his family and friends, and your Majesty has deigned to tell me that you did not know that I had, up to the present time, any understanding with any of them.

Los ugonotes andan inquietos, deseando tener caveça de consideracion, y á quien mas se an inclinado es al mariscal de Bullon; pero este no se determina, quejandose dellos que no la acudieron quando este Rey le apretó en lo de Sedan, y en resolucion la parte de los ugonotes se mueve solo sin passar á effecto, siendo todos pláticas, pero andan de manera que dan mucho cuydado al Rey.

The Huguenots are uneasy, wishing to find a leader of eminence: and he to whom they are most inclined is the Maréchal de Bouillon; but he will come to no determination, complaining that they did not support him in his contest with the King about Sedan; and the Huguenot party is agitated by debates which come to no result. These are merely intrigues; but they are such as to occasion the King much anxiety.

Con el condestable nunca e procurado tener intelligencia por que fuera de ser muy viejo; es de muy poco spíritu y sin resolucion; sus deudos acudirán al príncipe de Conde el dia que le vieren apoyado, y con algun dinero, y el Rey anda despues que el príncipe de Conde se fué á Flandes tan mirando al condes-

I have never been able to come to an understanding with the Connétable, because he is very old, of feeble intellect, and irresolute. His family will assist the Prince de Condé as soon as they see that he is supported, and provided with money. Ever since the Prince de Condé withdrew into Flanders, the King

table que esto solo le tyene ó el con poco animo tras non tener mucho, y a dicho algunas vezes despues que su hija está en Flandes que su honrra está segura si V. Md mantyene la reputacion que sus pasados an mantenido.

has kept such a close watch upon the Connétable that this alone, or else his irresolution, prevents his doing much; he has often said, since his daughter has been in Flanders, that his honour was safe, if your Majesty maintained the reputation of your ancestors.

The Same to the Same.

April 27, 1610.

Señor, finiendo hecho el despacho que va con esto para V. Md, vinó á verme el nuncio, y me dixó como havia tenido ayer audiencia del Rey, en la qual le havia dado un breve de la mano del papa para que no acudiesse á las cossas de Cleves ni ajudar á los protestantes, con palabras apretadas, como doy quenta en otras á V. M. . . . . [El Rey] dixó al nuncio que, si V. Md ó el archiduque corespondiessen con algun auto de amistad, que se echase de ver se le desseava haçer, quel se contentaria con embiar dos ó tres mil hombres á Cleves; apretandole el nuncio que á esto queria que como fuese justo el papa se ynterpondria y haria quanto pudiese, respondió que diesen á la princessa de Conde á su padre; el nuncio le respondió que mirasse que se metia en una guerra injusta que sus mismos vasallos se lo condenaban, y todo el mundo havia de ser contra el; y á otras muchas raçones que refiere que passaron solo le respondió que le appretaban terri-

Sire, As I was finishing the despatch which accompanies this letter to your Majesty, the Nuncio came to see me, and told me that he had obtained an audience of the King, at which he had remitted to him a brief from the hand of the Pope, with the view of dissuading him from interfering with the affairs of Cleves, and aiding the Protestants; with urgent words, as I informed your Majesty . . . . [The King] told the Nuncio that, if your Majesty or the Archduke would show him some sign of friendship, he would see what he could do; he would content himself with sending two or three thousand men to Cleves. The Nuncio answered that upon this it would be necessary, as was just, that the Pope should interpose with all his power. The King replied that the Princesse de Condé must be restored to her father. The Nuncio rejoined that he was astonished to see him about to engage in a war so unjust that even his own

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blemente de España, y que deçian quel estava enamorado, quel no lo estava, pero que mirasse lo mal que le querian en España, que, cossa que el estutubiere enamorado, le pribavan de su contento y le tenían la cossa que mas amaba en el mundo y no se la querian dar. . . .

subjects condemned it, and that everyone would be against him. In reply to many other arguments which he detailed to me, the King answered that he was terribly pressed by Spain, that he was said to be in love, that he was not so, but that if he had been, he should be astonished at the malignity of Spain, which was trying to deprive him of his happiness, and was keeping back from him that which he loved best in the world, and refusing to give it him. . . .

The Same to the Same.

May 7, 1610.

Dixóme el nuncio que echa de ver notablemente en el Rey mucha diferencia destos dias passados, porque le halló muy dulce y hablandole muy claramente en que deseava la amistad de V. M^{d}, que no se le atrevessó en razon de la princessa de Conde, como la voz passava, solo le dixó quel archiduque mostrava gana de dalla á su padre, y no acavava, que á ynstancia suya scrivió ahora el condestable, pidiendole al príncipe lo consintiesse; pareçele al nuncio que, aunque el Rey deshace el rruydo de armas por España, que lo siente mucho; dixóme tambien le havia dado quexas el Rey de lo que se hace con el príncipe de Conde en Milan, pero que, en todo, avia ydo muy suave y desseoso de dar satisfacion.

The Nuncio told me that he had just seen the King in a much calmer mood than during the last few days, for he spoke very quietly to him, and declared most plainly that he desired your Majesty's friendship; that he was not so much taken up with the Princesse de Condé as people said, but that the Archduke appeared desirous of restoring her to her father, and yet did not actually do so; that the Connétable had just written at his instigation to ask the Prince to consent. It appeared to the Nuncio that, whatever the King may say about his having given up the notion of war on account of Spain, he feels deep resentment, and complains of what has been done at Milan with the Prince

. . . . No cessan sus ministros de yntentar y procurar que se le diesse la princessa de Conde á su padre, diciendo que, con esto, las demas cossas se compondrian por camino muy quieto el que serbe aquí al archiduque anda oyendo estas pláticas, y hablando en ellas con particularidad, y á mi me ha hablado propuniendo me scribiesse á Su Md será bien que el príncipe de Conde se fuesse á Roma y que consintiesse que la princessa de Conde se entregasse á su padre; respondile lo que devia. . . .

A instancia del que aquí sirbe al archiduque Alberto, y por havello el pedido al grand chanciller de Francia y á Villeroy, escrive el condestable al príncipe de Conde, pidiendo le consienta se le entregue su hija; tambien se hà desseado que yo scribiera lo mismo, y procurarlo apretandome, y tanto que me fue fuerça responder como podia el apretarme. . . .

de Condé, although upon the whole he spoke with moderation, and with a desire to give satisfaction.

. . . . His ministers persist in urging that the Princesse de Condé should be restored to her father, saying that by this means all the rest will be amicably arranged; and the Archduke's agent here enters very fully into these intrigues, and proposed to me to write to his Majesty to the effect that it would be well if the Prince de Condé were to go to Rome, and were to consent to the restoration of the Princesse de Condé to her father. I answered him as I ought. . . .

Upon the entreaty of the Archduke Albert's agent here, and the demand he has made of the Chancellor of France, and of Villeroy, the Connétable is writing to the Prince de Condé, to ask him to consent to the restoration of his daughter to him; I have also been asked to do likewise, and to persuade him by my entreaties; insomuch that I have been forced to answer, as best I could, that I would urge it upon him. . . .

XXI.

The Dowager Princess of Orange[1] *to the Duchesse de Thouars.*[2]

25 février 1610.

APP. XXI.

Madame ma chère fille, j'ay reseu vos lettres, et par le sieur du Plessis, et depuis par le S^r^ Anché : je me resjouys de vous sçavoir à Paris, parce que j'en apprendray bien plus souvent de vos nouvelles que d'ailleurs. Vous dites que vous avés trouvé beaucoup de changement. Vrament ouy. Pour moy, je crois que Monsieur le Prince a perdu l'entendement et qu'il est habandonné de Dieu d'ouyr dire ces procedés à Bruzelles. Le cœur m'en crève de voir un qui porte le nom de Bourbon parmy ces gens-là. Je me trompe bien, ou il sera bientost las d'eux, et eux de luy ; ils le déprisent desjà bien fort, à ce que j'entens. J'ay pitié de le voyr courir comme cela à sa ruyne, et ceste pauvre princesse renfermée à ceste heure comme dans une prison. Elle eust esté bien plus heureuse d'épouzer un simple gentilhomme. Mais encore ce qui me fasche le plus, c'est de voyr Monsieur le prince d'Orange[3] je ne sçay comment embarassé parmy tout cela. Y n'a pas tins que nous ne luy ayons souvant mandé d'icy qu'il s'en devoit retirer, et y nous mande aussi tous les jours qui s'en revient à Breda et qui ly fasche fort d'y demeurer sy longtemps, mais qu'il espéroit tousjours de gagner quelque chose sur cest esprit malade. Depuis ceste belle alarme que vous en avés aprize, nous n'en avons rien apris, synon que, de bouche, il a encore donné charge de nous dyre qui seroit bientost à Breda. Vos frères[4] sont depuis quinze jours à Utrech, pour essayer d'asoupir quelque brouillerye qui s'est mise dans la ville, à quoy, sy l'hotorité de Messieurs les Estas ne remédye, il y avoit danger que cela n'en alumast de plus grande dans le pays, mais on espère que cela se racommodera. Voylà des nouvelles d'Alemagne qui

[1] Louise de Coligny, daughter of the celebrated Admiral, born September 2, 1555 ; widow of Teligny (who was massacred in the St. Bartholomew); fourth wife of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who had left her a widow in 1583.

[2] Charlotte Brabantine de Nassau, daughter of the same William, Prince of Orange, by his third wife, Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier, and consequently stepdaughter of the last-mentioned Princess. She had married, in 1598, Claude de la Trémouille, Duc de Thouars, brother of the Dowager Princesse de Condé.

[3] Philip William, her son-in-law, brother-in-law of Condé. He has been already mentioned.

[4] The celebrated Maurice of Nassau, who succeeded his uterine brother as Prince of Orange, from 1618 to 1629 ; and Henri-Frédéric, Louise de Coligny's own son. The latter, who was also Prince of Orange from 1625 to 1647, was grandfather of William III.

vienent d'arriver, par où il semble que ces affayres de Jullyers se porteront à la guerre. Sy cela est, y n'y a pas aparance que vostre cadet puisse aler encore en France, car ceste seule atente luy a fait tenir pied à boule tout cest hyver, par l'avys mesme de tous ceux ui l'ayment, car il avoit bien envye de fayre un tour auprès du Roy, u'il a estrême envye de voyr. S'il y a moyen, y faut qui face ce petit voyage de Sedan ; si Monsieur de Bouillon est encore à Paris, communiqués-en avec luy, et me mandés, sy vous plaist, commant y faudroit y procéder, car j'y aporteré de mon costé tout ce qui sera en ma puissance, ne desirant rien tant au monde que ce que vous souhaités aussy. Vous me mandés que je vous escrive quant sera mon retour. Certes, chère fille, je ne le puis encore juger, car il m'est bien malayzé de me résouldre que je ne voye ce que deviendra vostre cadet. J'ay dit à Bricquemault ce que vous me mandiez qui la regarde. Je vous prye de croyre qu'elle, non plus que moy, ne soufre rien à Mademoysele de la Trimouille qui soit malséant à une fille de sa calité. Je me doute bien qui est ce gentilhomme que vous dytes qui est avec mon neveu de Chastillon [1] qui vous a dit qui parle sy privément avec elle. C'est une humeur que, sy vous le congnoissiés bien, vous ne trouveriés pas cela estrange de luy, car il prend des libertés qu'autre que luy ne prendroit pas, et personne ne s'en offanse. Enfin j'en fais comme de ma fille propre, et m'assure, quant vous la verrés, que la trouverés bien jolye. Le Plessis m'a dit mile biens de vostre ayné et mile gentillesses de vostre cadet, qui me donne bien envye de les voyr. Je suis sy malade d'un grand rume, qui tient icy comme une cocluche, que j'ay eu grand peyne à vous fayre ceste lettre.

C'est le 25 de février.

A Madame, Madame de la Trimouille duchesse de Thouars.

(Original. *Archives of the château de Serrent.* Communicated by M. Marchegay.)

XXII.

The Connétable de Montmorency to the Prince de Condé.

Paris, 12 mai 1610.[2]

Monseigneur, les plaintes que Madame la princesse de Condé ma fille m'a fais et repetté par plusieurs lettres et propos qu'elle a

[1] Gaspard de Coligny, grandson of the Admiral, born in 1581, Maréchal de France in 1622, died in 1646.

[2] In the margin are these words:

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tenuz de bouche à aucuns de mes principaux serviteurs qu'avoy envoïé vers elle des mauvais et rudes traittemens qu'elle a reçeu de vous, et le desir qu'elle a à ceste occasion de se faire séparer par justice, y adjoustant les prières instantes et pitoyables de la voulloir retirer du lieu où elle est pour la tenir près de moy, m'ont indu[1] d'en faire très-humble supplication aux archiducs, tant par requestes lettres que gentilshommes envoiez exprès, se que me promettois obtenir de leur bonté et justice et qu'ils ne refuseront à un père désolé, et qui ressent l'affliction et la doulleur de sa fille, une demande si juste. J'ay néantmoings recongneu qu'ils y apportoient de la difficulté et différoient à me donner ce contentement, soubz prétexte qu'ils mettent en avant vous avoir promis de ne la laisser sortir d'auprès d'eux sans votre permission. C'est pourquoy à présent j'ay recours à vous, Monseigneur, pour vous supplier très-humblement voulloir mettre en considération les justes causes qui m'induisent à faire cette poursuitte, que mon aage et indisposition m'ostent le moien d'aller vers elle pour la consoler en son affliction et luy donner conseil de ce qu'elle doibt faire pour mettre son esprit en repos, qu'elle n'est pas aussy en lieu où elle puisse avec entière liberté faire ses plaintes et y trouver remède, par ainsy qu'il ne luy reste aulcun autre secours sinon de venir à moy. Aiez donc, je vous supplie, pitié du père et de la fille, et vous représentez, s'il vous plaict, combien sont justes les causes de mes plaintes et mescontentement, mieux congneus de vous que d'aulcun autre, et prenez cette confiance en mon intégrité et de l'honneur dont j'ay tousjours faict profession, lequel accompagnera, moiennant la grâce de Dieu, touttes mes actions jusques au tombeau, qu'elle ne recepvra en ma maison que tous bons enseignemens, pour continuer à suivre la vertu en laquelle elle a esté nourrie et instituée, et que sa vie y sera si innocente qu'elle méritera d'estre louée de vous et d'un chascun ; si vous aidez, Monseigneur, à me faire donner ce contentement et consolation à ma fille, je le tiendray à grande obligation et demeureray en vollonté de vous en rendre très-humble service, avec auttant d'affection que le debvoir me le pourra permettre, lequel me fais encore desirer de vous voir près du Roy au rang deub à votre grandeur et quallité, comme vous serez tousjours quand vous vouldrez avoir recours à sa bonté plustost qu'à rechercher des

[1] 'C'estoient des meschans qui estans gaignez imputoient des plaintes à la princesse et faisoient telles lettres qu'ils vouloient parce que le bon seigneur ne sçavoit ny lire ny escrire.'

remèdes qui ne peuvent servir que à vous faire souffrir du mal et recepvoir de blâme. Je suis,

Monseigneur,

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

MONTMORENCY.

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, collection Dupuy, 70, 71, 72, No. 61.)

The Prince de Condé to the Connétable de Montmorency.

Undated (1610).

Monsieur, vous aurés la présente, non pour me plaindre de l'action qui s'est passée à Bruxelles, dont j'aurois grande raison, mais pour me condouloir du funeste accident survenu en la personne du feu Roy, Monseigneur, que Dieu absolve! dont je puis dire avec vérité en avoir ressenty le coup au milieu du cœur. Ce que je vous supplye de voulloir tesmoigner au Roy et à la Reyne, et les asseurer du desir et de la passion que j'ay de rendre à Leurs Majestés le très-humble service que je leur dois, sous l'espérance que j'ay qu'elles me feront l'honneur de me recevoir en l'exercice des charges que mon rang et ma naissance me donnent au gouvernement de l'estat; de quoy je vous supplye de me voulloir assister et de conseil et d'auctorité, pour la proximité de sang et d'alliance que j'ay avec vous, par laquelle, avec la raison et le droict que j'ay pour moy, car je ne demande autre chose, vous estes tenu de voulloir mon bien et mon honneur, protestant d'oublier entièrement la simplicité d'esprit de ma femme, vostre fille, à se laisser surprendre jusques aux termes où elle a esté, dont je donne la faute, pour vous au pouvoir absolu d'autruy, et pour elle à ceux et à celles qui l'ont si artificieusement et malicieusement circonvenue, la voullant à jamais aymer et chérir comme moy-mesme, et demeure ce que je vous suis, qu'est, Monsieur, vostre très-humble et très-affectionné fils et serviteur,

HENRY DE BOURBON.

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, fonds Saint-Germain français, 1018, folio 116.)

The Prince de Condé to the Duchesse d'Angoulême.

Undated (1610).

Madame, je me feusse bien estoné d'avantage que je n'ay faict de l'action qui s'est passée à Bruxelles, sy je n'eusse sceu les artiffices que l'on usoit journellement à vous y disposer et à y faire résoudre ma femme; c'est pourquoy je n'en donne la faute à personne qu'à ceux et à celles qui sy meschament ont circonvenu sa jeunesse; une

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saincte Thérèse et les plus relligieuses vierges du monde eussent succombé à tant de persuasions; ce que faict que je pardonne librement à sa simplicité, et ne veux laisser pour cella de l'aymer et chérir, comme Dieu et la raison me commandent. J'espère qu'ayant esté une heure avec elle de luy remettre sy bien l'esprit, qu'elle et moy en demeurerons contens. Quant à vous, Madame, je vous supplye de croire que je n'ay point pour cella cessé de vous honnorer et chérir, comme vous m'y avés obligé, sçachant bien aussy quelle viollance en vous faisoit, que je tais néantmoings, par respect que j'ay à qui je dois, desirant avec passion vous rendre preuve par touttes sortes de services que je suis et veux estre toutte ma vie, Madame, vostre bien humble nepveu et obligé serviteur,

HENRY DE BOURBON.

J'escris à Monsieur le connestable mes intentions, ausquelles je vous supplye très-humblement me faire les bons offices que vous pouvés, et croire ce porteur comme moy-mesme.

(*Bibliothèque impériale*, fonds Saint-Germain français, 1018, folio 117.)

XXIII.

'Voiage du prince de Condé de Paris jusques à Milan; premièrement, le chemin de lieu en lieu; après, les choses remarquables qu'il a veues en chaqun lieu et ce qui s'est passé depuis son départ avec la cause de sa sortie du roiaume.'

Such is the title of an autograph MS. of Henri II., Prince de Condé, preserved among his family papers. This journal must not be confounded with the account of a journey performed by the same prince thirteen years afterwards, an account also written by himself, and of which the original manuscript is in the archives of Condé, but printed at Bourges in 1624. That which now concerns us is unpublished. Unfortunately it does not fulfil all the promises of its title; the Prince wrote nothing either about 'what happened since his departure,' or about 'the causes of his quitting the realm.' He has confined himself to a mere list of halting-places, adding some remarks which resemble very closely the earliest travelling journals kept by children of twelve to fifteen years of age. Yet, brief and dry as it is, this journal still furnishes us with interesting information, and, above all, with definite dates. It has been thought right to subjoin here, in support of the narrative in the text, a few extracts

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and a brief summary, preserving the spelling of the names of places, which indeed is almost always intelligible.

'Parti de Paris le 25e novembre, jour de sainte Catherine, en l'année 1609; allé coucher au Bourget, bourg.

'Le 26e, allé de là dîner à Dammartin, bourg de M. le connestable; coucher à Bes, terre et châtheau du Sr de Bes.

'Le 27e, aller dîner à St-Remy, village du Sr de Conflans; coucher à Muret, maison et village apartenant audit prince; Auquel lieu il séjourna tout le lendemain.

'Le 29e, parti avec sa femme en carosse, allé repaistre à Lurse, village, et de là achevé la journée à marcher jusques à la nuit, et repaistre à Creci; marché toute la nuit, et venu à Catillon, premier lieu des Païs-Bas.

'De là, le trentième, venu à Landreci, ville de l'obéissance de l'archiduc au pays de Hainault. Séjourné trois jours.

'Parti le 3e de décembre . . . . coucher à Fleury . . . .' 4, Liége.—5, Érichapelle.—6, 7, Julliers.

'Parti le 8; allé d'une traite à Colongne, auquel lieu il demeura depuis le mercredi jusques au samedi 17e.'

17, 18, Ais.—19, Mastric.—20, Tillemont.—24, Louvain.

'Le 22e, venu coucher à Brusselles, ville. Séjourné jusques au 22e de febvrier, durant lequel temps il fut voir la ville d'Anvers comme aussi celle de Malines. Duquel lieu partit pour Milan.'

22 février 1610, Sichem.—23, Veerte.—24, Vennelot.—25, Rhainbergue, passé le Rain.—26, Dorstem.—27, 28, Munstre.—1er mars, Osembruc.—2, Emelot.—3, Oldenbourg.—4, 5, Hildesheim.—6, Séchem.—7, Donderstat.—8, Melhouse.—9, Erdford.—10, Hilmenaut.—11, Inglestin.—12, Coburc.—13, Bamberc.—14, Erland.—15, Nurembergue.—16, Hilpostaim.—17, Cuberbac.—18, Rechensofuen.—19, 20, Ausbourg.—21, Landspergue.—22, Zoia.—23, Mittamval.—24, Isbruc.—25, Mauls.—26, Bolsan.—27, Trente.—28, traversé le lac de Garde, et couché à San-Giacomo du Crémonois.—29, Crémone.—30, Lodi.—31, Milan.

'Retour en France. Parti de Milan le 9e juin; dîner à Cosme, ville au roy d'Espagne; coucher aus Tavernes, païs de Suisse.'

10, Airollo.—Du 11 au 16, Saint-Gothard, Lac de Lucerne, canton de Bâle, Coulommiers, Saint-Dié, Lunéville, Nancy, Pont-à-Mousson, Longwi, Arlon, Flamegeol.

'Le 17, passé à Bastoigne, ville, dîné à Namur, ville; coucher à Havre, bourg.' Le 18, dîner à Brusselles. Séjourné cinq jours; allé à Nostre-Dame de Montaigu et à Marimont; passé à Louvain. . . . Retourné à Brusselles.

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'Parti de Brusselles le 6e juillet, venu passer à Marimont, coucher à Bains, ville. Séjourné le 7e.—Le 8e, coucher à Mons, ville d'une traite.'

9, Valenciennes.—10, Cambray.—11, Péronne.—12, Roie.—13. Compiègne.—14, Senlis.—15, Louvres.

'Le 16, dîner au Bourget, bourg; coucher à Paris, ville.'

END OF VOLUME II.

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